THE MEMOIRS OF Lieut. HENRY TIMBERLAKE

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OSTENACO
Drawing by Sir Joshua Reynolds
See note 77

Timberlake, Henry
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Lieut. Henry Timberlake's

MEMOIRS

1756-1765

With

Annotation, Introduction and Index

By

SAMUEL COLE WILLIAMS, LL.D.
Formerly Justice of the Tennessee Supreme Court

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TO MY DAUGHTER
GERTRUDE WILLIAMS MILLER

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A neglected phase of American history is the part played by the Southern Colonies in the French and Indian War (1755-1763), and by the Southern Indians who were at times disposed to join the French and at other times to co-operate with the English and Anglo-Americans.

In the battle royal for the possession of the great Mississippi Valley both the French and the English strove to win the support of the Cherokee Indians, particularly those of the Over Hill towns on the Little Tennessee River, whose war-power and strategic location meant much to the contestants. The Virginians as early as 1754 had men of ability and shrewdness, as traders, among the Over Hill Cherokees in an effort to gain and hold their allegiance. Having the same end in view, the colonial governors of Virginia and South Carolina in 1757 caused two forts to be constructed in the midst of the Cherokee towns on the Little Tennessee River. The Virginian fort was the first to be erected but it was never

garrisoned. The South Carolina authorities employed an engineer, DeBrahm, who far surpassed the Virginians in the strength and elaboration of his fortification work. The name of Fort Loudoun was given the South Carolina fort, in honor of the Earl of Loudoun, who had arrived in America in July, 1756.

The troops of South Carolina under Captain Paul Demere, in their garrison at Fort Loudoun, were on terms of amity with the Cherokees for several months after the completion of the fort in the early part of 1757. The Cherokees sent their warriors in considerable numbers to join the militia of Virginia in expeditions against the French, the Shawnees and other French Indians, on the upper reaches of the Ohio. Soon, however, mismanagement on the part of the new governor of South Carolina, Lyttleton, and machinations of the French from their Fort Toulouse on the Coosa River (in Alabama) caused first discontent, and then disaffection, on the part of the Cherokees. The Cherokee warriors, who went on the expedition to aid the Virginians in the reduction of Fort DuQuesne, on their return through the back parts of Virginia lost some of their horses, and appro-

priated instead horses of the frontiersmen in the same region. The Virginians in resentment killed several of the Indians and made others prisoners. Incensed by the cumulation of wrongs, real and supposed, the Cherokees besieged Fort Loudoun, and on March 20, 1760, Standing Turkey led an unsuccessful attack of four days duration on the fort. On August 7, the garrison weakened by desertions and near-famine surrendered and evacuated the fort. On their march southward toward the English settlements in South Carolina, the officers and men reached Cane Creek about fifteen miles away, where they were (August 9) treacherously attacked by about seven hundred of the Cherokees; and Captain Demere, the commandant, and every officer, save Captain John Stuart, and twenty-three privates were killed. Seeing that resistance was useless, the others surrendered and were taken prisoners to the several towns of the Indians.

The authorities of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, before the fall of the garrison, had resolved to subdue the redmen and cause a release of those who were virtually prisoners in the fort. Colonel James Grant's command, coming up from Charles

Town, attacked the lower Cherokees and defeated them. The Virginia troops under Colonel William Byrd, III, encamped at Fort Chiswell in Southwest Virginia, were ordered to march southward to Fort Loudoun. Colonel Byrd, leaving for home, turned the command over to Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen who led the forces to the Great Island of Holston, more frequently called Long Island (Kingsport, Tennessee) where the troops were enforted. Here they were visited by a large delegation of Cherokees, suing for peace, which was concluded with them by Stephen on November 19, 1761. On the request of the Cherokee chiefs that an officer might visit their towns in order to evidence and cement the newly made friendship with the Anglo-Americans, Henry Timberlake, a young Virginian as yet an ensign who had already seen actual service under Colonel George Washington around Winchester and Pittsburgh, volunteered to go on this mission. He afterwards conducted two delegations of Cherokee leaders to England.

Timberlake prepared and published in London (1765) his experiences in the French and Indian War and in England in the form

of Memoirs. The book has become so rare that it has been thought advisable to reprint it, in entirety, with annotations added. The notes as well as the reprint of Timberlake's work, it is hoped, may serve a main purpose of the editor — the filling of what is well-nigh a gap in the early history of the South and of the Cherokee Indians. Such a standard and comprehensive historical production as *The American Nation: A History* (in twenty-eight volumes) does not refer to the Byrd-Stephen campaign against the Cherokees. It mentions the fort at Long Island-of-Holston to misname it, and Fort Loudoun to assign to its construction an erroneous date, without an intimation of its sad fate.

Little is known or ascertainable of Timberlake beyond what is disclosed in his Memoirs. He was, almost certainly, of the Timberlake family of very early colonial days, the representatives of which in later generations lived in the counties of Hanover, Fluvanna, Louisa, and Albemarle, Virginia. Henry Timberlake died while in London in 1765, and probably before his book was off the press; certainly before he could have profited from sales of it.

The English poet, Robert Southey, made a very considerable use of Timberlake's book in the preparation of his epic poem, *Madoc* (1805), in which are narrated the supposed adventures of a Welsh prince of the twelfth century in the wilderness of America.

A German translation of Timberlake's Memoirs appeared in 1767 in *Kohler's Collection of Travels*; and a translation into French by Billecocq was issued in Paris, 1796. Strangely enough no reprint of the book has ever appeared in England or America, though the thin volume of the London edition of 1765, because of excessive rarity and an increasing demand for it, now fetches from eighty to ninety dollars in this country; in England twenty pounds.

Timberlake's recorded observations on the manners and customs of the Cherokees have always been treated as dependable source material by ethnologists. The author's work deserves a reproduction on that account.

The notes of Timberlake appended to his text are indicated in this reprint, as in the original, by the reference marks, star (*), dagger (†), etc., and also by the suffix (T). Added notes are indicated by numerals and (W). No changes have been made in the

author's orthography or punctuation, however confusing the latter may be to the present day reader.

S. C. W.

"Aquone"
Johnson City
Tennessee

THE

MEMOIRS

OF

Lieut. HENRY TIMBERLAKE,

(Who accompanied the Three Cherokee Indians to England in the Year 1762)

CONTAINING

Whatever he obſerved remarkable, or worthy of public Notice, during his Travels to and from that Nation; wherein the Country, Government, Genius, and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, are authentically deſcribed.

ALSO

The PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES during their Reſidence in LONDON.

Illuſtrated with

An ACCURATE MAP of their Over-hill Settlement, and a curious Secret JOURNAL, taken by the Indians out of the Pocket of a Frenchman they had killed

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and ſold by J RIDLEY, in St. James's-Street; W. NICOLL, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and C. HENDERSON, at the Royal-Exchange.

MDCCLXV.

PREFACE

THE PREFACE

AFTER extracting this detail from my Journal, and supplying many circumstances from my memory, I was very much at a loss what title to give it. MEMOIRS seemed to answer my design with the greatest propriety; but that being so commonly misapplied, I was afraid the public would expect a romance, where I only intended laying down a few facts, for the vindication of my own conduct. I do not, however, by this mean to suggest to my reader, that he will find here only a bare uninteresting narrative; no, I have added all in my power to make it useful and agreeable to others, as it was necessary to myself; and indeed it was [v] highly so, since a person who bears ill treatment without complaining, is generally held by his friends pusillanimous, or believed to be withheld by secret motives from his own justification. I know not what mine think, but it will not be amiss to inforce their good

opinion of me, by laying all my actions open to their view. And as once publishing will be more general, and save many repetitions of a disagreeable narration, this motive first induced me to write, to exchange my sword for a pen, that I wield as a soldier, who never dreamt of the beauties of stile, or propriety of expression. Excuse then, gentle reader, all the faults that may occur, in consideration that these are not my weapons, and that tho' I received almost as good an education as Virginia could bestow on me, it only sufficed to fit me for a soldier, and not for a scholar; but tho' this was the chief end I proposed from it, I have, occasionally deviating from my main design, added whatever I thought curious and [enter]taining, that occurred to my observation, in the Cherokee country, and my travels to and from it, not omitting the principal dan-
[vi] gers I have passed through, and the expences I have been at, that the reader, weighing them and the rewards I have received, may judge where the balance is due. I do not doubt but I shall be censured for exposing so freely the actions of Mr. Κακοανθζοπος; but to this I was constrained by the clamours made against the unnecessary and extravagant expences into which the reception of the In-

dians had drawn the government. To unveil where the unnecessary and extravagance of it lay, became my duty; and I cannot say but I took some pleasure in detecting the person in the crime he so artfully had laid to my charge: It is, I presume, very pardonable in a person who has so much reason to complain of his unfair practices towards him. As to the manners of the Indians, I grant they have been often represented, and yet I have never seen any account to my perfect satisfaction, being more frequently taken from the reports of traders, as ignorant and incapable of making just observations as the natives themselves, than from the writer's own experience. These I took upon the [vii] spot, and if I have failed in relating them, it is thro' want of art in expression, and not of due knowledge in point of facts. As, however, I did not take upon me to write as an author who seeks applause, but compelled by the necessity of vindicating myself, I once more beg the public to pass over, with a candid indulgence, the many faults that may deserve their censure. [viii]

THE

MEMOIRS, &c.

NOtwithstanding my aversion to formal beginnings, and any thing that may relish of romance, as the reader may desire some knowledge of the person who has submitted his actions to his judgment, I shall, in hastening to my principal design, just acquaint him, that my father was an inhabitant of Virginia,[1] who dying while I was yet a minor, left me a small fortune, no ways sufficient for my support, without some employment. For some time, by the advice of my friends, I proposed [1] following the more lucrative one of commerce, but after my minorship was elapsed, my genius burst out. Arms had been my delight from my infancy, and I now resolved to

[1] Probably of Hanover County, the early records of which were destroyed during the Civil War. (W)

gratify that inclination, by entering into the service. Pursuing this resolution, I made my first campaign in the year 1756, with a company of gentlemen called the Patriot Blues,[2] who served the country at their own expence; but whether terrified by our formidable appearance, or superior numbers, the enemy still avoided us; so that, notwithstanding many recent tracks and fires, we never could come to an engagement.[3] On our return, I made application for a commission in the Virginia regiment, then commanded by Col. Washing-

[2] Following the failure of Col. Andrew Lewis's Sandy Creek expedition against the Shawnees in the early part of 1756, a large force of the French and their Indians marched (April) from the Ohio and invaded the back settlements of Virginia, killing many inhabitants without regard to age or sex. Gov. Dinwiddie ordered the militia of the ten counties nearest to Winchester to go to the relief of Col. George Washington at that place. In some of the counties on and near the seaboard others volunteered for such service on the frontier. "About 100 of our Gentlemen are entered into an Association at their own Expence, properly accoutred on Horse Back, to go to our Frontier against the Enemy — a brave Example for the other People." Letter of Gov. Dinwiddie, May 10, 1756, *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 411, 423, 439. The volunteers were organized by lawyers, Peyton Randolph at their head, and reported to Col. George Washington about 150 strong on reaching his headquarters. *Ib.* 439. (W)

[3] "On the march of the militia they [the French and their Indians] dispersed and returned to their Fort on the Ohio, I fear to reinforce their numbers and return to pillage and murder." Gov. Dinwiddie, May 24, 1756. *Dinwiddie Papers* II, 417. (W)

ton;[4] but there being at that time no vacancy, I returned home.

In the year 1758, a new regiment was raised for that year's service, to be commanded by the Hon. William Byrd, Esq;[5] from whom I not only received an ensigncy, but as subalterns were to be appointed to a troop of light-horse, [2] he honoured me with the cornetcy of that also.[6] I was soon after ordered on an

[4] George Washington. At this time, the spring of 1756, an emissary of the French was among the Cherokees making efforts to win them from the English. March 1st he reported to the Duke de Mirepoix: "The Cherokees who are very numerous and have never been conquered have entered into an alliance with the English and chose (in great form) King George as their King and father — they have offered me 1000 of their men to join me at the Ohio, provided I would take them in the Government's pay." Am. Hist. Asso. Rep., 1906, I, 678, 689, *Intercepted Letters to the Duke de Mirepoix, 1756.* Gov. Dinwiddie and Col. Washington were not unsuspecting but busy in frustrating the design. Washington's estimate of the Cherokees is given in his letter to the governor (September, 1756): "Those Indians who are serving [under Ostenaco] should be showed all possible respect, and the greatest care taken of them, as upon them much depends. It is a critical time; they are very humorsome, and their assistance very necessary. One false step might lose us all that, but even turn them against us." *Writings of Washington, passim*; *Dinwiddie Papers* II. (W)

[5] William Byrd, III, of "Westover" on James River, colonel of the Second Virginia Regiment, and a member of the Council of State. (W)

[6] "Mr. Timberlake, if he inclines to serve as a Volunteer, must wait the Course of Preferment with the other young Gentlemen." Gov. Dinwiddie to Col. Washington, August 19, 1756. *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 482. (W)

escort, in which service I continued till July, when I joined the army at Ray's-Town,[7] where I found General Forbes[8] already arrived. The army then marched to Fort Ligonier, on the way to Fort Du Quesne.[9] I was seized here by a violent fit of sickness, caught in searching for some of the troop-horses that were lost, by over-heating myself with running, and drinking a large quantity of cold water, which rendered me incapable of duty. I got something better about the time the troops marched for Fort Du Quesne, and could sit my horse when helped on, but was ordered back by the General, who, however, on my telling the doctor I hoped to do duty in a day or two, permitted me to continue the march.[10] We heard the French blow up their magazine, while yet some miles off; and, on our arrival, we found the barracks, and every thing of value, in flames.[11] My malady rather increased, so that I was at last compelled to

[7] In Pennsylvania. (W)

[8] Gen. John Forbes, a Scotchman; appointed brigadier-general and assigned to the command of the British forces in America. (W)

[9] Name changed by the British to Pittsburgh. (W)

[10] Gen. Forbes was himself suffering from a grave malady and had to be borne on a litter. (W)

[11] The French abandoned the post and the British and American troops entered the ruined fort November 25, 1758. (W)

petition for my return. I lost my horse at Fort Ligonier, the third I had lost during the [3] campaign; and being obliged to mount a very weak one, I met with great difficulty in crossing the Allegany mountains; and before I reached Ray's Town my horse was entirely knocked up. I bought another, and proceeded to Winchester, where, in a little time, I got perfectly recovered.

Those light-horsemen that survived the campaign, were here in want of all necessaries; and no money being sent up from Williamsburg to pay them, I advanced upwards of an hundred pounds, intending to reimburse myself from the first that should arrive; mean while the troops I belonged to were disbanded, and I, in consequence, out of pay. I had no further business at Winchester than to wait for this money, which I did, till my patience being quite exhausted, I resolved to go down the country in search of it. On my arrival at Williamsburg, I was informed the money had been sent up to me by the paymaster. I returned immediately to Winchester, near 200 miles, where I found the paymaster had paid [4] it to the Lieutenant of the troop, who had appropriated it to his own use. He returned me fifty pounds, but it has never been in his

power to pay me the remainder, and to all appearance it never will.

After such unfortunate essays I began to give over all thoughts of the army, when Col. Byrd was appointed to the command of the old regiment, in the room of Col. Washington, who resigned; on which I was unfortunately induced to accept another commission. I served another campaign in the year 1759, under General Stanwix, in the same quarter; but on our arrival at Pittsburg, formerly Fort Du Quesne, I had little employment, except looking over the men at work, till the fall of the leaf, when the General gave me the command of Fort Burd, about sixty miles to the eastward of Pittsburg, where I continued about nine months at a very great expence, partly through hospitality to those who passed to and from Pittsburg, and the dearness of necessaries, and partly by building myself a [5] house, and making several improvements, and finishing the half-constructed fort, for which I never received any gratuity. I was relieved by a company of the Pensylvania regiment in the spring, and returned to Pittsburg, but found Col. Byrd with one half of the regiment ordered against the Cherokees, now become our most inveterate

enemies; while the remainder under Col. Stephen [12] were destined to serve on the Ohio. I will not fatigue the reader with an account of campaigns wherewith all our news-papers were filled, but confine myself to what more immediately concerned me.

I remained at Pittsburg till autumn, when I obtained permission to pass the winter at home. I accordingly set out in company with an Ensign named Seayres,[13] who had obtained the same permission: we found great difficulties from the badness of the road, of which I

[12] Adam Stephen, a Scotchman, was in 1754 senior captain in Col. Joshua Frey's regiment, and on Washington's taking command he was made a major. He was with Col. Washington at Great Meadows, and the next year was severely wounded in Braddock's defeat. He lead an expedition of relief to South Carolina in 1757, and commanded the Virginia regiment in Pontiac's War, 1763. In Lord Dunmore's War (1774) he was second to Governor Dinwiddie in command. He served in the Virginia Convention of 1775; the next year he was chosen brigadier-general of Revolutionary forces operating in New Jersey, and shortly earned promotion to a major-generalship. He served in the General Assembly of Virginia (1780-85), and in the convention which ratified the Federal Constitution (1788). His home was at Martinsburg where he died, 1791. He was of great stature and physical strength, and was held in awe by the Indians. (W)

[13] The Sayers family was of the early ones to settle in what was later called Fincastle County, Va. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*, 171; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 46, 292. Perhaps John Sayers or Sears, who was an ensign along with Timberlake on the expedition of 1761. Va. Act, 1762, *Henning Stat.* 493. (W)

may quote the following instance. After marching three whole days from Pittsburg to the place where General Braddock [6] first crossed the Yawyawgany river (little better than sixty miles), and leaving one of my horses fast in the mire, we found, to our great surprize, the river about twelve feet high. We waited a whole day in hopes of its falling, but had the mortification to find it had rather rose a foot; our provisions beginning to run short, we hunted to recruit them, but without any success, which obliged us to come to an immediate determination. We at last resolved to look for some other crossing-place; we found about two miles lower, a part of the river, which by its breadth we judged to be fordable; but as the water was muddy, and the bottom could not be seen, there was a considerable risk in attempting it, especially as it lay under a fall, from whence the current darted with great impetuousity. After some deliberation, we resolved to venture it; pushed on by the fears of starving, if we remained any longer where we were, Mr. Seayres proposed himself to try it first; mounting therefore the best of our horses, he plunged into the stream: for the first hundred yards the wa- [7] ter reached little higher than the horse's belly, but

before he got to a small island in the middle, which we had resolved to rest at, he was quite up to the saddle-skirts; after halting a little time, he set out again for the opposite side, but found it impossible to proceed, a deep channel lying between him and the shore, into which he often plunged, but was as often obliged to turn back, at a great hazard of being carried away by the current. Despairing at last of being able to cross it, yet unwilling to return, he forced up the shallow part about an hundred yards, towards the falls, making several attempts to cross, which he at last effected; but the banks being excessively steep, he found as much difficulty and danger in climbing them, as he had before done in crossing. We then followed, and tho' we now knew exactly what course to keep, as our horses were weaker, and more heavily loaded, our task was not less dangerous or difficult. We found the bottom so rocky and irregular, that the horses staggered with their loads. The rapidity of the stream, and the false steps they made, [8] threatened every moment to leave their burthens and lives in the middle of the stream. One of them, on which my servant was mounted, actually fell, letting my portmantua into the water, which luckily lodged among the

limbs of an old tree, that had been washed down by the current; the horse recovered himself, and all the damage occasioned by this accident was, the spoiling of my cloaths, and to the amount of forty pounds in paper money, which got so wet, and stuck so fast together, that the greatest part of it was rendered entirely useless. Happy, however, that this was our only loss, and that we escaped with our lives.

In the spring 1761, I received orders to return to my division, which was to proceed to the southward, and join the other half against the Cherokees.[14] Soon after this junction we began our march towards the Cherokee country.[15] Col. Byrd parted from us at a place

[14] In October, 1760, the Virginia Assembly passed an act providing for the withdrawal of Virginia forces from the north and concentrating the strength of the entire regiment against the Cherokees. *Letters to Washington*, III, 211. "Our last accounts from that Quarter was in a letter rec'd from Colo. Byrd, dated at Campbell's Aug't 10th. I cannot imagine he will proceed after he is informed that Fort Loudoun, the principal object of his Destination, is surrendered to the Savages." Capt. Robert Stewart to Washington (October 1760) *Ib.* 197. Col. Byrd camped at Stalnakres during the winter of 1760-61, and not at Long Island of Holston, as is frequently stated. (W)

[15] On July 18, 1761, Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) appeared with the Emperor (note 20) in Col. Byrd's camp, and interceded for peace. He represented that Oconostota, Ostenaco (Outacity) and Standing Turkey who had been active in bringing on and prosecuting the war were now sensible of their

called Stalnakres,[16] and returned down the country, by which the command devolved

error. He disclosed the fact that the war had been instigated by Northern and Southern Indians under French influence. Byrd replied that peace must be made with Col. Grant in the South; that nothing short of that could prevent the destruction of the Cherokees, to compass which the Virginians were soon to march. The great chief hurried South and sued for the grant of peace by Col. Grant. He was sent with a guard of soldiers to Charles Town, where in a speech of great power and pathos he set forth the great sufferings of his nation, and asked for peace. This chief's course during the war added force to his appeal which was not denied.

Col. Byrd from the outset had little heart for the campaign, (Stewart to Washington, *Letters to Washington*, III, 184) and Attakullakulla was wisely chosen as diplomat for the peace mission. Col. Byrd had been one of the commissioners appointed (1756) to treat with the Cherokees for their aid in the war at the North. In 1756 Byrd and Attakullakulla met in treaty at Broad River in North Carolina. Dr. Andrew Burnaby, an accomplished English clergyman, who travelled through Virginia in 1760, in his *Travels through North America* gives an account, as communicated to him "by one of the gentlemen engaged in the embassy" to the Cherokees, of Attakullakulla's interposing to save the life of Col. Byrd. A party of the Cherokees assembled at the treaty ground were incensed by news just received of the treacherous murder of some of their warriors on the frontiers of Virginia. Burnaby says:

"Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, a steady friend of the English, hastened to the ambassadors, apprised them of their danger, and recommended to them to conceal or barricade themselves as well as they could, and not to appear abroad on any account. He then assembled his nation, over whom he possessed great influence, in the council-room; inveighed bitterly against the treachery of the English. . . 'Let us not, however, violate our faith, or the laws of hospitality, by imbruing our hands in the blood of those who are now in our power; they came to us in the confidence of friendship, with belts of

on Col. [9] Stephen. We marched,[17] without molestation, to the great island[18] on Holston's River, about 140 miles from the enemy's settlements, where we immediately applied ourselves to the construction of a fort,[19] which was nearly completed about the middle of November, when

wampum to cement a perpetual alliance with us.'" It seems that Saloue another chief (of the Valley Towns) also stood with Attakullakulla for the protection of the Virginia commissioners. Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, 62, 99.

Adair, who was with the South Carolina forces, thus complains of Byrd's management: "The Virginia troops kept far off in flouirishing parade, without coming to our assistance or making a diversion against those warlike towns which lie beyond Apalache mountains." *Hist. Am. Inds.*, 252. (W)

[16] Samuel Stalnakres about 1750, with the assistance of Dr. Thomas Walker and his associates, erected a cabin home on the Holston River, about nine miles west of the cabin of Stephen Holston, for whom the river was named. Holston's cabin (1748) was on the head spring of the Middle Fork of the river.

[17] Andrew Lewis, then a major, had led an advance guard of three companies to open a road leading down the Holston (July 6, 1761). (W)

[18] Big Island, or usually then, and today, "Long Island," Sullivan County, Tennessee. "Our next post is to be at Big Island and our last at Broad River, forty miles from the Imperial City of Chota. But how our small numbers are to make roads, construct posts, furnish escortes, etc., is to me quite a mystery." Stewart to Washington, *Letters to Washington*, III, 224. (W)

[19] Fort Robinson, named in honor of John Robinson, a partner of Byrd in the lead mines at Fort Chiswell, and a leading politician of Virginia. Thwaites in his *France in America*, misnames the fort "Fort Byrd." P. 196. (W)

Kanagatucko,[20] the nominal king of the Cherokees, accompanied by about 400 of his people, came to our camp, sent by his countrymen to sue for peace, which was soon after granted by Col. Stephen, and finally concluded on the 19th instant. All things being settled to the satisfaction of the Indians, their king told Col. Stephen he had one more favour to beg of them, which was, to send an officer back with them to their country, as that would effectually convince the nation of the good intentions and sincerity of the English towards them. The Colonel was embarrassed at the demand; he saw the necessity of some officer's going there, yet could not command any on so dangerous a duty. I soon relieved him from this dilemma, by offering my service; my active disposition, or, if I may venture to say, a love [10] of my country, would not permit it's los-

[20] The Emperor of the Cherokees, commonly called by the English, "Old Hop." Various forms, due to the difficulty of reducing to English Cherokee gutterals in Kanegwati, have been found by the writer in the records: Cunnicatogue, Canacackte, Concauchto, Connocotte, Connecortee, Conogotocke, Canackte. At times, such spelling is followed by the description, Old Hop, or the name of his town, Chota. The name "Old Hop" by Drake and other writers, has been thought to apply to Oconostota, but this is incorrect. An earlier chief "Canacaught, the great Conjuror," is mentioned as early as 1684. The printer doubtless transposed the letters in the effort at Kanagautcko. (W)

ing so great an advantage, for want of resolution to become hostage to a people, who, tho' savage, and unacquainted with the laws of war or nations, seemed now tolerably sincere, and had, seeing me employed in drawing up the articles of peace, in a manner cast their eyes upon me as the properest person to give an account of it to their countrymen. The Colonel seemed more apprehensive of the danger than I was myself, scarce giving any encouragement to a man whom he imagined going to make himself a sacrifice, lest he should incur the censure of any accident that might befall me.

The 28th was fixed for our departure; but on making some inquiries about our intended journey, the Indians informed me that the rivers were, for small craft, navigable quite to their country; they strove, however, to deter me from thinking of that way, by laying before me the dangers and difficulties I must encounter; almost alone, in a journey so much further about, and continually infested with [11] parties of northern Indians,[21] who, though at peace with the English, would not fail to treat, in the most barbarous manner, a

[21] The Shawnese at this period were giving the Cherokees much trouble. (W)

person whose errand they knew to be so much against their interest. They professed themselves concerned for my safety, and intreated me to go along with them: but as I thought a thorough knowledge of the navigation would be of infinite service, should these people ever give us the trouble of making another campaign against them, I formed a resolution of going by water; what much conduced to this, was the slowness they march with when in a large body, and the little pleasure I could expect in such company. On the day appointed the Indians set out on their journey, and a little after I embarked on board a canoe to pursue mine: my whole company consisted of a serjeant,[22] an interpreter,[23] and servant, with

[22] Sumter, the sergeant, was Thomas, of Orange County, Va. In his youth he was the companion of Joseph (afterward General) Martin, Benjamin (afterward Colonel) Cleveland, of King's Mountain fame, and John Redd, the noted frontiersman. Sumter went with Timberlake in 1761-2 to England; and alone accompanied the Cherokee delegation back to their home. Among them (February 1763) he arrested and carried to South Carolina, a French emissary, Baron des Jonnes, who was a Canadian by birth and a lieutenant in rank. He had been in the French forces in the defense of Fort Du Quesne. Sumter later on made his home in South Carolina where he arose to distinction as Gen. Sumter of the Revolutionary Army, and as a member of Congress from that State. Ramsey, in his *Annals of Tennessee*, page 55 note, is in error as to the rank of Sumter, date, etc. *South Carolina Gazette*, March 26 and May 7, 1763. (W)

[23] John McCormack, the interpreter, was among the Chero-

about ten days provisions, and to the value of twenty odd pounds in goods to buy horses for our return: this was all our cargo, and yet we had not gone far before I perceived we were much too heavy loaded; the canoe being small, [12] and very ill made, I immediately ordered my servant out, to join the Indians, giving him my gun and ammunition, as we had two others in the canoe; little could I foresee the want we were soon to experience of them. We then proceeded near two hundred weight lighter, yet before we had gone a quarter of a mile ran fast a-ground, though perhaps in the deepest part of the stream, the shoal extending quite across. Sumpter the serjeant leaped out, and dragged us near a hundred yards over the shoals, till we found deep water again. About five miles further we heard a terrible noise of a water-fall, and it being then near night, I began to be very apprehensive of some accident in passing it: we went ashore to seek the best way down; after which taking out all the salt and ammunition, lest it should get wet, I carried it along the shore, while they brought down the canoe; which they happily effected. It being now near dark, we went ashore to *

kees acting in the same capacity as late as 1785. Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, 319. (W)

* What is meant here by encamping, is only making a fire

encamp about a mile below [13] the fall. Here we found a party of seven or eight Cherokee hunters, of whom we made a very particular inquiry concerning our future route: they informed us, that, had the water been high, we might from the place we then were reach their country in six days without any impediment; but as the water was remarkably low, by the dryness of the preceding summer, we should meet with many difficulties and dangers; not only from the lowness of the water, but from the northward Indians, who always hunted in those parts at that season of the year. I had already been told, and fortified myself against the latter, but the former part of this talk (as they term it) no way pleased me; it was however too late, I thought, to look back, and so was determined to proceed in what I had undertaken. We supped with the Indians on dried venison dipped in bears oil, which served for sauce. I lay (though I was too anxious to [14] sleep) with an Indian on a large bear-skin, and my companions, I believe, lodged much in the same manner.

and lying near it, though the Indians often prop a blanket or skins upon small poles, to preserve them from the inclemency of the weather. (T)

Early next morning we took leave of our hosts, and in less than half an hour began to experience the troubles they had foretold us, by running a-ground; we were obliged to get out, and drag the canoe a quarter of a mile before we got off the shallow; and this was our employment two or three hours a-day, for nineteen days together, during most part of which the weather was so extremely cold, that the ice hung to our cloaths, from the time we were obliged to get in the water in the morning, till we encamped at night. This was especially disagreeable to me, as I had the courses of the river to take for upwards of two hundred and fifty miles.

We kept on in this manner, without any remarkable occurrence, till the 6th of December, when our provisions falling short, I went on shore, with the interpreter's gun, to [15] shoot a turkey; singling one out, I pulled the trigger, which missing fire, broke off the upper chap and screw-pin; and, as I could find neither, after several hours search, rendered the gun unfit for service. M'Cormack was not a little chagrined at the loss of his gun; it indeed greatly concerned us all; we had now but one left, and that very indifferent; but even this we were shortly to be de-

prived of, for we were scarce a mile from this unlucky place, when seeing a large bear coming down to the water-side, Sumpter, to whom the remaining gun belonged, took it to shoot; but not being conveniently seated, he laid it on the edge of the canoe, while he rose to fix himself to more advantage; but the canoe giving a heel, let the gun tumble over-board. It was irreparably gone, for the water here was so deep, that we could not touch the bottom with our longest pole. We were now in despair: I even deliberated whether it was not better to throw ourselves overboard, as drowning at once seemed preferable to a lingering death. Our provisions were consumed to an ounce of meat, [16] and but very little flour, our guns lost and spoiled, ourselves in the heart of woods, at a season when neither fruit nor roots were to be found, many days journey from any habitation, and frequented only by the northern Indians, from whom we had more reason to expect scalping than succour.

We went ashore, as it was in vain to proceed, and, desponding, began to make a fire; while thus employed, several large bears came down a steep hill towards us. This, at another time, would have been a joyful sight; it now only increased our affliction. They came

within the reach of a tommahawk; had we had one, and the skill to throw it, we could scarce have failed of killing. In short, they were as daring as if they had been acquainted with our misfortunes. Irritated by their boldness, I formed several schemes for killing, among which, as mending the broken gun seemed most probable, I instantly set about trying the experiment. Notching a flint on each side, I bound it to the lower chap with a [17] leather thong. This succeeded so far, that in ten or twelve times snapping, it might probably fire, which was matter of great joy to us. Before I had finished it, the bears were frightened away; but as we had now mended our gun, we conceived great hopes. It was very probable they might return; and we were not long in expectation, for in less than a quarter of an hour, another very large one stalked down towards us, tho' not so near as the former ones had done. M'Cormack snatched up his gun, and followed him near a quarter of a mile. I had sat down in expectation of the event, and pulled my shoes and stockings off to dry; when I heard the report of the gun, my heart leaped for joy, since I imagined M'Cormack would have certainly taken all imaginable precautions; but judge of my de-

spair, when, after running myself out of breath, and bare-footed among the rocks and briars, I found he had missed, and that having left the ammunition at the place where we had camped, he could not charge again, till I returned for it. I ran back, unable as I was, and brought it; then [18] sat down, and he continued the chace. By this time Sumpter, who had been gathering wood, joined me, and, we soon heard M'Cormack fire again; upon which, running with all our speed, to the place from whence the report came, we had the inexpressible joy of seeing a large bear, that might weigh near 400 weight, weltering in his blood. It being late, we propped him for that night, on an old tree, to prevent his being devoured by other beasts. Next morning my companions skinned him, and taking as much of his meat as we could conveniently carry, we left the camp in much better spirits than when we came to it.

Nothing more remarkable occurred, unless I mark for such the amazing quantity of buffaloes, bears, deer, beavers, geese, swans, ducks, turkeys and other game, till we came to a large cave;[24] we stopped to examine it,

[24] Below Three Springs Ford, Hamblen County, Tennessee, is a cave, fifty feet above the water-level, in which stalactites

but after climbing, with great difficulty, near 50 feet almost perpendicular, to get to it, we saw nothing curious, except some pillars of the petrified drop- [19] pings, that fell from the roof, of a prodigious size. I could not, indeed, penetrate very far, for want of light. Coming back to the edge of the rock, we perceived our canoe a-drift, going down with the stream. Sumpter scrambled down the rock, and, plunging into the river, without giving himself scarce time to pull off his coat, swam a quarter of a mile before he could overtake her. When he returned, every thing on him was stiff frozen. We instantly made a fire to recover him; but this accident, joined to the severity of the weather, obliged us to stay the day and night following. We laid ourselves down to sleep in the mouth of the cave, where we had made our fire, which we no sooner did, than, oppressed with the fatigues of the preceding day, we fell into a sound sleep, from which we were awaked before midnight, by

are found. The cave is situated at the point of a curve in the river that is plainly observable by one going down-stream. Another cave is on the northerly bank of Holston River, in Grainger County, about fifty feet above water level. The interior contains beautiful stalagmities and stalactites; and a good-sized stream of water issues from it. This cave is open to the public and made accessible by the construction of many bridges over the underground stream. (W)

the howling of wild beasts in the cave, who kept us awake with this concert till a little before day. About four o'clock in the morning, we had a more terrifying alarm, we were stunned with a noise, like the splitting of a rock. As there had never been, to all ap- [20] pearance, a fire near that place, I could no otherwise account for it, than by laying it to the fire, which refining the air, might have occasioned some pressure in the cavities, or fired some collected vapour, the explosion of which had been the noise that waked us; yet, as I could not clearly comprehend it, I was under the greatest apprehensions, especially as I could perceive it hollow just under us. The severity, however, of the weather obliged us to stay the next night likewise, but the howling of the beasts, and thinking of the preceding night's noise, prevented me from getting any sleep. On the morning of the 9th instant, we were, to my great satisfaction, obliged to decamp for want of wood. We passed the place where the canoe was taken up, and came to a fall about a quarter of a mile further, which, had she reached, we should never have seen the least atom of her cargoe more.

We continued our journey much in the same manner till the 11th: as during the whole time

we had seen or heard nothing of [21] the northward Indians, the Cherokees had so menaced us with, we began to imagine ourselves secure, and that they had, for some reasons, imposed on us, when the report of a gun on one side of the river undeceived us; for as the Cherokees had told us how much the northward Indians frequented this place, it was reasonable to conclude, that they themselves came only here to fight, at which time they seldom fire, as that gives notice to the enemy where to come and reconnoitre them, but seek to hear their adversaries fire, that their scouts may measure their forces, and they take all advantages of the enemy before they come to action. We therefore concluded that this must certainly be a party of northern hunters. We were talking of this, when another gun from the opposite shore declared us in the midst of our enemies, whom there was no resisting; we heard several more some time after, which made us go as far as we possibly could before we encamped, which we did very cautiously, retiring into a thicket of canes, and chusing to lay on our wet and cold blankets, rather than make a [22] fire to dry them, by which we might be discovered. Next day we heard several more guns on both sides of the

river, which made us conjecture that the Indians had watched us, but not finding our encampment the night before, were still following us. I was resolved, however, to encamp in such an inconvenient manner no more, and to make a fire at night, whatever might be the consequence. We took all other imaginable precautions, encamping in a thicket of canes, impenetrable to the eye, as we had done the preceding night. About midnight some drops falling on my face from the trees under which we lay, awaked me, on which I imagined I heard something walk round our camp. I lay still some time to consider what could be patroling at that time of night in the rain, a thing unusual for wild beasts to do, when M'Cormack, who had been awake for some time, asked me if I heard the noise. I told him yes, very plain, for by the cracking of the sticks that lay on the ground I could perceive it approached us. M'Cormack starting up, [23] swore directly it was a party of northern Indians, and ran down, in a pannic, to the canoe, and, had not I followed to prevent him, would certainly have made off with it, and left us exposed to the mercy of the enemy, if there were any pursuing us, without any means of escape; but for my part, I imagined it some

half-starved animal looking for food; and Sumpter had been so certain of this, that he never moved from where he lay; for when, in an hour after, I had persuaded M'Cormack to return to the camp, we found Sumpter fast asleep, and the noise entirely gone. We set out early the next day, on account of this alarm, and about 12 o'clock heard a noise like distant thunder. In half an hour we reached the place called the Great Falls, from which it proceeded. The river was here about half a mile broad, and the water falling from one rock to another, for the space of half a mile, had the appearance of steps, in each of which, and all about the rocks, the fish were sporting in prodigious quantities, which we might have taken with ease, had we not been too busy in working the [24] canoe down, to look after them. I observed here the same method I had with the other falls, by going ashore and looking out the safest way for the canoe to pass; and lest some accident should happen to it, I took what salt and ammunition we had left, and carried it along the shore: if this was not so dangerous, it was quite as difficult a task; and were I to chuse again, I should prefer the danger in the canoe to the difficulty of passing such rocks, both hands occupied, with the care

of the gun and ammunition. Theirs was no ways easy. Before they had passed half the fall, the canoe ran fast on a rock, and it was with the greatest difficulty they got her clear; notwithstanding which I was at last so entangled among the rocks, that I was obliged to order the canoe ashore, at a place where the current was more practicable than others, and proceed in it. We scarce advanced a hundred yards, when we ran with such violence against another rock, that Sumpter, breaking his pole in attempting to ward the shock, fell over-board; and we narrowly escaped being [25] partakers of the same accident. Had not the canoe been of more than ordinary strength, she must certainly have dashed to pieces; she turned broadside too, shipping in a great deal of water, by which all the things were wet that I had so much laboured to preserve. We got out to right her; and as I observed some bad places below, I resolved to wade to the shore, being as much an incumbrance as a help. The water was not then above knee-deep; but, before I reached the shore, I got into a sluice as high as my arm-pits, and was near forced away by the rapidity of the stream, entangled in my surtout, and a blanket I had wrapped about me: when I got on shore, examining the

damage I had sustained, I found my watch and papers spoiled by the wet, and myself almost frozen; so that, after shivering on three miles further, we were constrained to encamp, and make a fire to dry ourselves; but as it continued snowing, hailing, and raining alternately, we were again obliged to lie in wet blankets; which, though more intolerable, after the hardships we had sustained this [26] day, we had done half the time since our departure from the Great Island.

Next morning, when we decamped, it was so excessive cold, that coming to a still place of the river, we found it frozen from bank to bank, to such a degree, that almost the whole day was spent in breaking the ice to make a passage. This, indeed, had already happened some days before, but never so severe as now.

Next morning we had the pleasure of finding the ice entirely gone, thawed, probably, by a hard rain that fell over-night, so that about two o'clock we found ourselves in Broad River,[25] which being very high, we went the two following days at the rate of ten miles an hour, till we came within a mile of Tennessee

[25] French Broad River, a short distance below the mouth of which the Timberlake party passed the site of Knoxville, a city at the present time of about 100,000 population. The place was known to the Cherokees as the Mulberry Grove. (W)

river,[26] when, running under the shore, we on a sudden discovered a party of ten or twelve Indians, standing with their pieces presented on the bank. Finding it impossible to resist or escape, we ran the canoe ashore towards them, [27] thinking it more eligible to surrender immediately, which might entitle us to better treatment, than resist or fly, in either of which death seemed inevitable, from their presented guns, or, their pursuit. We now imagined our death, or, what was worse, a miserable captivity, almost certain, when the headman of the party agreeably surprized us, by asking, in the Cherokee language, to what town we belonged? To which our interpreter replied, To the English camp; that the English and Cherokees having made a peace, I was then carrying the articles to their countrymen. On this the old warrior, commonly called the Slave Catcher of Tennessee,[27] invited us to his camp, treated us with dried

[26] Now called the Little Tennessee. The stream above its mouth to the mouth of the French Broad is now called the Tennessee, by force of legislative acts. This part was formerly called the Holston. The writer believes that the word "Tennessee," in the exact form now in use, was first so spelled by Timberlake at this place in his narrative. Even he, a page further on, omitted one "n." (W)

[27] One of the chiefs who signed the deed to Jacob Brown, March 25, 1775. Ramsey, 121. (W)

venison, homminy, and boiled corn. He told us that he had been hunting some time thereabouts, and had only intended returning in seven or eight days, but would now immediately accompany us.

We set out with them next morning to pursue our voyage; but I was now obliged to give over taking the courses of the river, lest the In- [28] dians, who, tho' very hospitable, are very suspicious of things they cannot comprehend, should take umbrage at it.

Entering the Tenessee River, we began to experience the difference between going with the stream, and struggling against it; and between easy paddles, and the long poles with which we were constrained to slave, to keep pace with the Indians, who would otherwise have laughed at us. When we encamped about ten miles up the river, my hands were so galled, that the blood trickled from them, and when we set out next morning I was scarce able to handle a pole.

Within four or five miles of the nation, the Slave Catcher sent his wife forward by land, partly to prepare a dinner, and partly to let me have her place in his canoe, seeing me in pain, and unaccustomed to such hard labour, which seat I kept till about two o'clock, when

we arrived at his house, opposite the mouth of Tellequo river,[28] compleating a twenty-two days [29] course of continual fatigues, hardships, and anxieties.

Our entertainment from these people was as good as the country could afford, consisting of roast, boiled, and fried meats of several kinds, and very good Indian bread, baked in a very curious manner. After making a fire on the hearth-stone, about the size of a large dish, they sweep the embers off, laying a loaf smooth on it; this they cover with a sort of deep dish, and renew the fire upon the whole, under which the bread bakes to as great perfection as in any European oven.

We crossed the river next morning, with some Indians that had been visiting in that neighbourhood, and went to Tommotly, taking Fort Loudon in the way, to examine the ruins.

We were received at Tommotly in a very kind manner by Ostenaco,[29] the commander in

[28] Tellico River. (W)

[29] Variously spelled in the records examined: Ostanaco, Ostonaco, Ustenaca, Ustenecah. Better known as Outacity (Mankiller) Ottassities, Otacie, Outassatah; or as Jud's or Judd's Friend. In one treaty all these names are written: "Ustenah [Ustenecah], Ottassite or Jud's Friend." *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII, 470. He took part in the Virginia's campaign at the north in 1756, and was a chief of ability and good repute. (W)

chief, who told me, he had already given [30] me up for lost, as the gang I parted with at the Great Island had returned about ten days before, and that my servant was then actually preparing for his return, with the news of my death.

After smoaking and talking some time, I delivered a letter from Colonel Stephen, and another from Captain M'Neil,[30] with some presents from each, which were gratefully accepted by Ostenaco and his consort. He gave me a general invitation to his house, while I resided in the country; and my companions found no difficulty in getting the same entertainment, among an hospitable, tho' savage people, who always pay a great regard to any one taken notice of by their chiefs.

Some days after, the headmen of each town were assembled in the town-house of Chote,[31] the metropolis of the country, to hear the arti-

[30] Captain John McNeill, of the Byrd-Stephen regiment, a favorite of Col. Washington and Gov. Dinwiddie. He had been selected to command the garrison of the Virginia fort constructed (1756) on the Little Tennessee prior to the erection of Fort Loudoun. See Timberlake's map. McNeill was left in command of Fort Robinson when Col. Stephen retired at the end of his campaign. He was the ancestor of the children of the writer, through their mother. (W)

[31] Usually "Chota." Variants: Chote, Chotah, Choto, Chottee, Chotih, Choate, Chotte. In Hodges, *Handbook of the American Indians*, Echota. (W)

cles of peace read, whither the interpreter and I accompanied Ostenaco. [31]

The town-house, in which are transacted all public business and diversions, is raised with wood, and covered over with earth, and has all the appearance of a small mountain at a little distance. It is built in the form of a sugar loaf, and large enough to contain 500 persons, but extremely dark, having, besides the door, which is so narrow that but one at a time can pass, and that after much winding and turning, but one small aperture to let the smoak out, which is so ill contrived, that most of it settles in the roof of the house. Within it has the appearance of an ancient amphitheatre, the seats being raised one above another, leaving an area in the middle, in the center of which stands the fire; the seats of the head warriors are nearest it.

They all seemed highly satisfied with the articles. The peace-pipe was smoaked, and Ostenaco made an harangue to the following effect: [32]

"The bloody tommahawke, so long lifted "against our brethren the English, must now "be buried deep, deep in the ground, never to "be raised again*; and whoever shall act con-

* As in this speech several allusions are made to the cus-

" trary to any of these articles, must expect a " punishment equal to his offence†. Should a " strict observance of them be neglected, a war " must necessarily follow, and a second peace " may not be so easily obtained. I therefore " once more recommend to you, to take par- " ticular care of your behaviour towards the " English, whom we must now look upon as " ourselves; they have the French and Spa- " niards to fight, and we enough of our own " colour, without medling with either nation. " I [33] desire likewise, that the white war- " rior, who has ventured himself here with us, " may be well used and respected by all, wher- " ever he goes amongst us."

The harrangue being finished, several pipes were presented me by the headsmen, to take a whiff. This ceremony I could have waved, as smoaking was always very disagreeable to me; but as it was a token of their amity, and they

toms of the Indians, it may not be impertinent to acquaint the reader, that their way of declaring war, is by smoaking a pipe as a bond among themselves, and lifting up a hatchet stained in blood, as a menace to their enemies; at declaring peace this hatchet is buried, and a pipe smoaked by both parties, in token of friendship and reconciliation. (T)

† The chiefs can inflict no punishment; but, upon the signing of the peace, it was agreed by both nations, that offenders on either side should be delivered up to be punished by the offended party, and it is to this the Chief alludes. (T) [33]

might be offended if I did not comply, I put on the best face I was able, though I dared not even wipe the end of the pipe that came out of their mouths; which, considering their paint and dirtiness, are not of the most ragoutant, as the French term it.

After smoaking, the eatables were produced, consisting chiefly of wild meat; such as venison, bear, and buffalo; tho' I cannot much commend their cookery, every thing being greatly overdone: there were likewise potatoes, pumpkins, homminy, boiled corn, beans, and pease, served up in small flat baskets, made [34] of split canes, which were distributed amongst the croud; and water, which, except the spirituous liquor brought by the Europeans, is their only drink, was handed about in small goards. What contributed greatly to render this feast disgusting, was eating without knives and forks, and being obliged to grope from dish to dish in the dark. After the feast there was a dance; but I was already so fatigued with the ceremonies I had gone through, that I retired to Kanagatucko's hot-house*; but was prevented taking any

* This Hot-House is a little hut joined to the house, in which a fire is continually kept, and the heat so great, that cloaths are not to be borne the coldest day in winter. (T) [35]

repose by the smoke, with which I was almost suffocated, and the croud of Indians that came and sat on the bed-side; which indeed was not much calculated for repose to any but Indians, or those that had passed an apprenticeship to their ways, as I had done: it was composed of a few boards, spread with bear-skins, without any other covering; the house being so hot, that I could not endure the weight of my own blanket. [35]

Some hours after I got up to go away, but met Ostenaco, followed by two or three Indians, with an invitation from the headman of Settico,[32] to visit him the next day.

I set out with Ostenaco and my interpreter in the morning, and marched towards Settico, till we were met by a messenger, about half a mile from the town, who came to stop us till every thing was prepared for our reception: from this place I could take a view of the town, where I observed two stand of colours flying, one at the top, and the other at the door of the town-house; they were as large as a sheet, and white. Lest therefore I should take them for French, they took great care to inform me, that their custom was to hoist red colours as an emblem of war; but white, as a

[32] Citico, at present day. (W)

token of peace. By this time we were joined by another messenger, who desired us to move forward.

About 100 yards from the town-house we were received by a body of between three and [36] four hundred Indians, ten or twelve of which were entirely naked, except a piece of cloth about their middle, and painted all over in a hideous manner, six of them with eagles tails in their hands, which they shook and flourished as they advanced, danced in a very uncommon figure, singing in concert with some drums of their own make, and those of the late unfortunate Capt. Damere;[33] with several other instruments, uncouth beyond description. Cheulah, the headman of the town, led the procession, painted blood-red, except his face, which was half black, holding an old rusty broad-sword in his right hand, and an eagle's tail in his left. As they approached, Cheulah, singling himself out from the rest, cut two or three capers, as a signal to the other eagle-tails, who instantly followed his example. This violent exercise, accompanied by the band of musick, and a loud yell from the mob, lasted about a minute, when the head-

[33] Capt. Paul Demere, commandant of old Fort Loudoun. (W)

man waving his sword over my head, struck it into the ground, about two inches from my left foot; then directing himself to [37] me, made a short discourse (which my interpreter told me was only to bid me a hearty welcome) and presented me with a string of beads. We then proceeded to the door, where Chuelah, and one of the beloved men, taking me by each arm, led me in, and seated me in one of the first seats; it was so dark that nothing was perceptible till a fresh supply of canes were brought, which being burnt in the middle of the house answers both purposes of fuel and candle. I then discovered about five hundred faces; and Cheulah addressing me a second time, made a speech much to the same effect as the former, congratulating me on my safe arrival thro' the numerous parties of the northern Indians, that generally haunt the way I came. He then made some professions of friendship, concluding with giving me another string of beads, as a token of it. He had scarce finished, when four of those who had exhibited at the procession made their second appearance, painted milk-white, their eagle-tails in one hand, and small goards with beads in them in the other, which they rat- [38] tled in time to the musick. During this dance the peace-

pipe was prepared; the bowl of it was of red stone, curiously cut with a knife, it being very soft, tho' extremely pretty when polished. Some of these are of black stone, and some of the same earth they make their pots with, but beautifully diversified. The stem is about three feet long, finely adorned with porcupine quills, dyed feathers, deers hair, and such like gaudy trifles.

After I had performed my part with this, I was almost suffocated with the pipes presented me on every hand, which I dared not to decline. They might amount to about 170 or 180; which made me so sick, that I could not stir for several hours.

The Indians entertained me with another dance, at which I was detained till about seven o'clock next morning, when I was conducted to the house of Chucatah, then second in command, to take some refreshment. Here I found a white woman, named Mary Hughes,[33a] [39] who told me she had been prisoner there near a twelvemonth, and that there still remained

[33a] The widow of an Indian trader, Hughes. "Among these prisoners was also a woman whose husband had been murdered and who had afterward married his murderer. The Indian, though reluctant, was disposed to comply, but she absolutely refused to return with her countrymen." Timberlake's Account in Gent. Mag., March 1768, XXXIV, 142.

among the Indians near thirty white prisoners more, in a very miserable condition for want of cloaths, the winter being particularly severe; and their misery was not a little heightened by the usage they received from the Indians. I ordered her to come to me to Ostenaco's, with her miserable companions, where I would distribute some shirts and blankets I had brought with me amongst them, which she did some days after.

After a short nap, I arose and went to the town-house, where I found the chiefs in consultation; after some time, I was called upon, and desired to write a letter for them to the Governor of South Carolina, which signified their desire of living in peace with the English, as long as the sun shone, or grass grew, and desired that a trade might be opened between them. These wrote, I sealed them up, with some wampum and beads in the inside. I was the same day invited to Chilhowey, [40] where I was received and treated much in the same manner as at Settico. I wrote some letters; and one that Yachtino the headman had brought from Col. Stephen was interpreted to them, which seemed to give them great satisfaction. I found here a white man, who, notwithstanding the war, lived many years among

them; he told me that the lower towns had been greatly distressed when attacked by Colonel Montgomery;[34] being obliged to live many months upon horse-flesh, and roots out of the woods, occasioned partly by the numbers drove among them, and the badness of the crops that year.

Returning home with Ostenaco the next day, being the 2d of January 1762, I enquired whether he thought I should receive any more invitations? He told me he believed not, because the towns to which I had already been invited, having been our most inveterate enemies during the war, had done this, as an acknowledgement and reparation of their fault. [41]

I had now leisure to complete taking the courses of the river, from which, as I have already mentioned, I was deterred by the Indians, as likewise to make remarks upon the country and inhabitants.[35]

[34] In upper South Carolina, June, 1760. Montgomery's retreat sealed the fate of Fort Loudoun. (W)

[35] "Mr. Timberlake went from our Camp down Holston's River and up the Tennessee, and he found it navigable for Batteaus which draw ten or twelve inches of water, all the way, by which we may find that we have a good conveyance for Men, Stores or Merchandise into the very heart of their Country. He has made a draught of the courses and bearings of the River, a fair Copy of which is by my order preparing for Sir Jeffery

The country being situated between thirty-two and thirty-four degrees north latitude, and eighty-seven degrees thirty minutes west longitude from London, as near as can be calculated, is temperate, inclining to heat during the summer-season, and so remarkably fertile, that the women alone do all the laborious tasks of agriculture, the soil requiring only a little stirring with a hoe, to produce whatever is required of it; yielding vast quantities of pease, beans, potatoes, cabbages, Indian corn, pumpions, melons, and tobacco, not to mention a number of other vegetables imported from Europe, not so generally known amongst them, which flourish as much, or more here, than in their native climate; and, by the daily experience of the goodness of the soil, we [42] may conclude, that, with due care, all European plants might succeed in the same manner.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the natives were not so well provided, maize,

Amherst." Gov. Fauquier, *Journal H. of B., Va., 1761-5*, page xvii. Timberlake's map was reproduced in *Jeffery's Topography of North America* (1762); in De Brahm's *History of the Province of Georgia*, in Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*, and in Avery's *History of the United States*, IV, 346. The map of Timberlake is commented on at length and favorably by a recent writer and archeologist, Cyrus Thomas, in *The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times*, 32. Col. Thomas Henderson, who

melons, and tobacco, being the only things they bestow culture upon, and perhaps seldom on the latter. The meadows or savannahs produce excellent grass; being watered by abundance of fine rivers, and brooks well stored with fish, otters and beavers; having as yet no nets, the Indians catch the fish with lines, spears, or dams; which last, as it seems particular to the natives of America, I shall trouble the reader with a description of. Building two walls obliquely down the river from either shore, just as they are near joining, a passage is left to a deep well or reservoir; the Indians then scaring the fish down the river, close the mouth of the reservoir with a large bush, or bundle made on purpose, and it is no difficult matter to take them with baskets,[36] when inclosed within so small a compass. [43]

North America, being one continual forest, admits of no scarcity of timber for every use: there are oaks of several sorts, birch, ash, pines, and a number of other trees, many of

settled in the immediate region about 1819, prepared a map from data gathered by himself, and it accorded exactly with the map of Timberlake. Cooke, *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, VII, 126. (W)

[36] For modes of fishing, compare with Adair's *History of American Indians*, 402-4; Harrington, *Cherokees on Upper Tennessee River*, 215, and Hodge, *Handbook of American Ind.*, I, 461. (W)

which are unknown in Europe, but already described by many authors. The woods likewise abound with fruits and flowers, to which the Indians pay little regard. Of the fruits there are some of an excellent flavour, particularly several sorts of grapes, which, with proper culture, would probably afford an excellent wine. There are likewise plumbs, cherries, and berries of several kinds, something different from those of Europe; but their peaches and pears grow only by culture: [37] add to these several kinds of roots, and medicinal plants, particularly the plant so esteemed by the Chinese, and by them called gingsang, and a root which never fails curing the most in-

[37] Compare with Adair, 409, etc.; Bartram, *Travels*, 360; William Bartram's *Observations*, Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., III, Pt. I, 47. The domain of the Cherokees is remarkable for its forests. Asa Gray, the celebrated botanist, said that he found a greater variety of trees within a day's tramp in the Great Smoky Mountains than are native to all Europe; the number of varieties is placed at 136. Of the forest shrubs and flowers there are 174 species. Considering the altitude, the abundance of mountain streams and the fertility of the soil, it is not to be wondered that there still live in the region about 2,000 Cherokee Indians, descendants of that remnant who resisted removal to the West in Jackson's administration, and fled to their mountain fastnesses, there to continue to breath the air of freedom. These Eastern Cherokees live on the Qualla reservation on Oconaluftee River, in Swain and Jackson counties, North Carolina. Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 157. Lanman, *Letters from the Alleghany Mountains*, 111. (W)

veterate venereal disease, which, however, they never had occasion for, for that distemper, before the arrival of Europeans among them. There are likewise an incredible number of buffaloes, bears, deer, panthers, wolves, foxes, [44] racoons, and opossums. The buffaloes, and most of the rest, have been so often described, and are so well known, that a description of them would be but tedious; the opossum, however, deserves some attention, as I have never seen it properly described. It is about the size of a large cat, short and thick, and of a silver colour. It brings forth its young, contrary to all other animals, at the teat, from whence, when of a certain size, and able to walk, it drops off, and goes into a false belly, designed by providence in its dam for its reception, which, at the approach of danger, will, notwithstanding this additional load, climb rocks and trees with great agility for its security.

There are a vast number of lesser sort of game, such as rabbits, squirrels of several sorts, and many other animals, beside turkeys, geese, ducks of several kinds, partridges, pheasants, and an infinity of other birds, pursued only by the children, who, at eight or ten years old, are very expert at killing with a sar- [45] bacan,

or hollow cane,[38] through which they blow a small dart, whose weakness obliges them to shoot at the eye of the larger sort of prey, which they seldom miss.

There are likewise a great number of reptiles, particularly the copper-snake, whose bite is very difficult to cure, and the rattle-snake, once the terror of Europeans, now no longer apprehended, the bite being so easily cured; but neither this, nor any other species, will attempt biting unless disturbed or trod upon; neither are there any animals in America mischievous unless attacked. The flesh of the rattle-snake is extremely good; being once obliged to eat one through want of provisions, I have eat several since thro' choice.

Of insects, the flying stag is almost the only one worthy of notice; it is about the shape of a beetle, but has very large beautiful branching horns, like those of a stag, from whence it took its name. [46]

The Indians have now a numerous breed of horses, as also hogs, and other of our animals, but neither cows nor sheep; both these, however, might be supplied by breeding some

[38] Example to be seen in the Museum of the American Indian, New York City. See illustration in Swanton's *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi*, 346.

tame buffaloes, from which, I have been informed, some white prisoners among them have procured both butter and cheese; and the fine long shag on its back could supply all the purposes of wool.[39]

The mountains contain very rich mines of gold,[40] silver, lead, and copper, as may be evinced by several accidentally found out by the Indians, and the lumps of valuable ore washed down by several of the streams, a bag of which sold in Virginia at a considerable price; and by the many salt springs, it is probable there are many mines of that likewise, as well as of other minerals. The fountains too may have many virtues, that require more skilful persons than the Cherokees or myself to find out.

They have many beautiful stones of different colours, many of which, I am apt to be- [47] lieve, are of great value; [41] but their superstition has always prevented their disposing of them to the traders, who have made

[39] Some such use was made of the wool of the buffalo. (W)

[40] Gold is found near the towns of the Over Hill Cherokees. The Ducktown copper mines in the region are well known. (W)

[41] Particularly amethyst, hiddenite, ruby and aquamarine some of which have been mined in the nearby mountains in recent years for shipment to Tiffany, jeweler of New York City. (W)

many attempts to that purpose; but as they use them in their conjuring ceremonies, they believe their parting with them, or bringing them from home, would prejudice their health or affairs. Among others, there is one in the possession of a conjurer, remarkable for its brilliancy and beauty, but more so for the extraordinary manner in which it was found. It grew, if we may credit the Indians, on the head of a monstrous serpent, whose retreat was, by its brilliancy, discovered; but a great number of snakes attending him, he being, as I suppose by his diadem, of a superior rank among the serpents, made it dangerous to attack him. Many were the attempts made by the Indians, but all frustrated, till a fellow, more bold than the rest, casing himself in leather, impenetrable to the bite of the serpent or his guards, and watching a convenient opportunity, surprised and killed him, tearing this jewel from his head, which the conjurer has kept hid for many [48] years, in some place unknown to all but two women, who have been offered large presents to betray it, but steadily refused, lest some signal judgment or mischance should follow. That such a stone exists, I believe, having seen many of great beauty; but I cannot think it would

answer all the encomiums the Indians bestow upon it. The conjurer, I suppose, hatched the account of its discovery; I have however given it to the reader, as a specimen of an Indian story, many of which are much more surprising.[42]

The Cherokees are of a middle stature, of an olive colour, tho' generally painted, and their skins stained with gun-powder, pricked into it in very pretty figures.[43] The hair of their head is shaved, tho' many of the old people have it plucked out by the roots, except a patch on the hinder part of the head, about twice the bigness of a crown-piece, which is ornamented with beads, feathers, wampum, stained deers hair, and such like baubles. The

[42] Myths of a jewel in the head of a serpent were common among American Indians. Talismanic stones were carefully kept and reverently regarded. By the English-speaking Indians the serpent was sometimes called the "diamond rattlesnake." Mooney says that "the mystic diamond crest, when in its proper place upon the snake's head, is called Ulstitlu; but when detached and in the hands of the conjurer it becomes the Ulunsuti, 'Transparent,' the great talisman of the tribe." *Myths of the Cherokees*, 459, citing Timberlake. Adair, in his *History of the American Indians*, 237, gives an account of the serpent and the stone. *Ib.* 87. The stones, in fact, were evidently rare specimens of rutile quartz, transparent with the exception of a single red streak running through the center from top to bottom. Specimens found in the Southern Alleghanies are to be seen in the National Museum at Washington. (W)

[43] Compare Bartram, *Observations*, 28. (W)

ears are slit and stretched to an enormous size, [49] putting the person who undergoes the operation to incredible pain, being unable to lie on either side for near forty days. To remedy this, they generally slit but one at a time; so soon as the patient can bear it, they are wound round with wire to expand them, and are adorned with silver pendants and rings,[44] which they likewise wear at the nose. This custom does not belong originally to the Cherokees, but taken by them from the Shawnese, or other northern nations.

They that can afford it wear a collar of wampum, which are beads cut out of clam-shells, a silver breast-plate, and bracelets on their arms and wrists of the same metal, a bit of cloth over their private parts, a shirt of the English make, a sort of cloth-boots, and mock-asons, which are shoes of a make peculiar to the Americans, ornamented with porcupine-quills; a large mantle or match-coat thrown over all compleats their dress at home; but when they go to war they leave their trinkets behind, and the mere necessaries serve them. [50]

The women wear the hair of their head,

[44] Early ear ornaments described. Harrington, *Cherokees on the Upper Tennessee*, 258. (W)

which is so long that it generally reaches to the middle of their legs, and sometimes to the ground, club'd, and ornamented with ribbons of various colours;[45] but, except their eye-brows, pluck it from all the other parts of the body, especially the looser part of the sex. The rest of their dress is now become very much like the European; and, indeed, that of the men is greatly altered. The old people still remember and praise the ancient days, before they were acquainted with the whites, when they had but little dress, except a bit of skin about their middles, mockasons, a mantle of buffalo skin for the winter, and a lighter one of feathers for the summer. The women, particularly the half-breed, are remarkably well featured; and both men and women are streight and well-built, with small hands and feet.[46]

The warlike arms used by the Cherokees are guns, bows and arrows, darts, scalp- [51] ping-knives, and tommahawkes, which are hatchets; the hammer-part of which being

[45] "They preserve its perfect blackness and splendor by the use of the red covering of the berries of the common summach." Bartram, *Observations*, 30. (W)

[46] "The women are tall, slim and of a graceful figure, and have captivating features and manners; and I think their complexion is rather fairer than the men's. *Ib.* (W)

made hollow, and a small hole running from thence along the shank, terminated by a small brass-tube for the mouth, makes a compleat pipe. There are various ways of making these, according to the country or fancy of the purchaser, being all made by the Europeans; some have a long spear at top, and some different conveniencies on each side. This is one of their most useful pieces of field-furniture, serving all the offices of hatchet, pipe, and sword; neither are the Indians less expert at throwing it than using it near, but will kill at a considerable distance.

They are of a very gentle and amicable disposition to those they think their friends, but as implacable in their enmity, their revenge being only compleated in the entire destruction of their enemies. They were pretty hospitable to all white strangers, till the Europeans encouraged them to scalp; but the great reward offered has led them often since to com- [52] mit as great barbarities on us, as they formerly only treated their most inveterate enemies with. They are very hardy, bearing heat, cold, hunger and thirst, in a surprizing manner; and yet no people are given to more excess in eating and drinking, when it is conveniently in their power: the follies, nay

mischief, they commit when inebriated, are entirely laid to the liquor; and no one will revenge any injury (murder excepted) received from one who is no more himself: they are not less addicted to gaming than drinking, and will even lose the shirt off their back, rather than give over play, when luck runs against them.[47]

They are extremely proud, despising the lower class of Europeans; and in some athletick diversions I once was present at, they refused to match or hold conference with any but officers.

Here, however, the vulgar notion of the Indians uncommon activity was contradicted [53] by three officers of the Virginia regiment, the slowest of which could outrun the swiftest of about 700 Indians that were in the place: but had the race exceeded two or three hundred yards, the Indians would then have acquired the advantage, by being able to keep the same pace a long time together; and running being likewise more general among them, a body of them would always greatly exceed an equal number of our troops.[48]

They are particularly careful of the super-

[47] See also Lawson, *History of Carolina*, 287. (W)

[48] Compare Lawson (1903 ed.), 133. (W)

annuated, but are not so till of a great age; of which Ostenaco's mother is an instance. Ostenaco is about sixty years of age, and the youngest of four; yet his mother still continues her laborious tasks, and has yet strength enough to carry 200 weight of wood on her back near a couple of miles. I am apt to think some of them, by their own computation, are near 150 years old.

They have many of them a good uncultivated genius, are fond of speaking well, as that [54] paves the way to power in their councils; and I doubt not but the reader will find some beauties in the harangues I have given him, which I assure him are entirely genuine. Their language is not unpleasant, but vastly aspirated, and the accents so many and various, you would often imagine them singing in their common discourse. As the ideas of the Cherokees are so few, I cannot say much for the copiousness of their language.

They seldom turn their eyes on the person they speak of, or address themselves to, and are always suspicious when people's eyes are fixed upon them. They speak so low, except in council, that they are often obliged to repeat what they were saying; yet should a person talk to any of them above their common

pitch, they would immediately ask him, if he thought they were deaf?

They have likewise a sort of loose poetry, as the war-songs, love-songs, &c. Of the latter many contain no more than that the young [55] man loves the young woman, and will be uneasy, according to their own expression, if he does not obtain her. Of the former I shall present the following specimen, without the original in Cherokee, on account of the expletive syllables, merely introduced for the music, and not the sense, just like the toldederols of many old English songs.

A TRANSLATION of the WAR-SONG.[49]

Caw waw noo dee, &c.

WHERE'ER the earth's enlighten'd by the sun,
Moon shines by night, grass grows, or waters run,
Be't known that we are going, like men, afar,
In hostile fields to wage destructive war;
Like men we go, to meet our country's foes,
Who, woman-like, shall fly our dreaded blows;
Yes, as a woman, who beholds a snake,
In gaudy horror, glisten thro' the brake,

[49] Timberlake could only have learned the substance of this song through one of the interpreters with whom he was thrown. This war-song was copied and reprinted by George Taylor, of Sheffield, England — who traveled in the American wilds in 1768 and 1769 — in his *Voyage to North America* (1771). (W)

Starts trembling back, and stares with wild surprize,
Or pale thro' fear, unconscious, panting, flies.
* Just so these foes, more tim'rous than the hind,
Shall leave their arms and only cloaths behind; [56]
Pinch'd by each blast, by ev'ry thicket torn,
Run back to their own nation, now its scorn:
Or in the winter, when the barren wood
Denies their gnawing entrails nature's food,
Let them sit down, from friends and country far,
And wish, with tears, they ne'er had come to war.

* We'll leave our clubs, dew'd with their country try show'rs,
And, if they dare to bring them back to our's,
Their painted scalps shall be a step to fame,
And grace our own and glorious country's name.
Or if we warriors spare the yielding foe,
Torments at home the wretch must undergo†. [57]

* As the Indians fight naked, the vanquished are con- [56] strained to endure the rigours of the weather in their flight, and live upon roots and fruit, as they throw down their arms to accelerate their flight thro' the woods. (T)

* It is the custom of the Indians, to leave a club, something of the form of a cricket-bat, but with their warlike exploits engraved on it, in their enemy's country, and the enemy accepts the defiance, by bringing this back to their country. (T)

† The prisoners of war are generally tortured by the women, at the party's return, to revenge the death of those that have perished by the wretch's countrymen. This [57] savage custom has been so much mitigated of late, that the prisoners were only compelled to marry, and then generally allowed all the privileges of the natives. This lenity, however, has been a detriment to the nation; for many of these returning to their countrymen, have made them acquainted with the country-passes, weakness, and haunts of the Cherokees; besides that it gave the enemy greater courage to fight against them. (T)

But when we go, who knows which shall return,
When growing dangers rise with each new morn?
Farewel, ye little ones, yet tender wives,
For you alone we would conserve our lives!
But cease to mourn, 'tis unavailing pain,
If not fore-doom'd, we soon shall meet again.
But, O ye friends! in case your comrades fall,
Think that on you our deaths for vengeance call;
With uprais'd tommahawkes pursue our blood,
And stain, with hostile streams, the conscious wood,
That pointing enemies may never tell
The boasted place where we, their victims, fell *. [58]

Both the ideas and verse are very loose in the original, and they are set to as loose a music, many composing both tunes and song off hand, according to the occasion; tho' some tunes, especially those taken from the northern Indians, are extremely pretty, and very like the Scotch.

The Indians being all soldiers, mechanism can make but little progress; besides this, they labour under the disadvantage of having neither proper tools, or persons to teach the use of those they have: Thus, for want of saws, they are obliged to cut a large tree on each

* Their custom is generally to engrave their victory on some neighbouring tree, or set up some token of it near the field of battle; to this their enemies are here supposed to point to, as boasting their victory over them, and the slaughter that they made. (T) [58]

side, with great labour, to make a very clumsy board; whereas a pair of sawyers would divide the same tree into eight or ten in much less time: considering this disadvantage, their modern houses are tolerably well built. A number of thick posts is fixed in the ground, according to the plan and dimensions of the house, which rarely exceeds sixteen feet in breadth, on account of the roofing, but often extend to sixty or seventy in length, beside the [59] little hot-house. Between each of these posts is placed a smaller one, and the whole wattled with twigs like a basket, which is then covered with clay very smooth, and sometimes white-washed. Instead of tiles, they cover them with narrow boards. Some of these houses are two story high, tolerably pretty and capacious; but most of them very inconvenient for want of chimneys, a small hole being all the vent assigned in many for the smoak to get out at.

Their canoes are the next work of any consequence; they are generally made of a large pine or poplar, from thirty to forty feet long, and about two broad, with flat bottoms and sides, and both ends alike; the Indians hollow them now with the tools they get from the Europeans, but formerly did it by fire: they

are capable of carrying about fifteen or twenty men, are very light, and can by the Indians, so great is their skill in managing them, be forced up a very strong current, [60] particularly the bark canoes; but these are seldom used but by the northern Indians.[50]

They have of late many tools among them, and, with a little instruction, would soon become proficients in the use of them, being great imitators of any thing they see done; and the curious manner in which they dress skins, point arrows, make earthen vessels, and basket-work, are proofs of their ingenuity, possessing them a long time before the arrival of Europeans among them. Their method of pointing arrows is as follows: Cutting a bit of thin brass, copper, bone, or scales of a particular fish, into a point with two beards, or some into an acute triangle, they split a little of their arrow, which is generally of reeds; into this they put the point, winding some deers sinew round the arrow, and through a little hole they make in the head; then they moisten the sinew with their spittle, which, when dry, remains fast glewed, nor ever untwists. Their bows are of several sorts of wood, dipped in bears oil, and seasoned [61]

[50] Harrington, *op. cit., passim.* (W)

before the fire, and a twisted bear's gut for the string.

They have two sorts of clay, red and white, with both which they make excellent vessels, some of which will stand the greatest heat. They have now learnt to sew, and the men as well as women, excepting shirts, make all their own cloaths; the women, likewise, make very pretty belts, and collars of beads and wampum, also belts and garters of worsted. In arts, however, as in war, they are greatly excelled by their northern neighbours.

Their chief trade is with those Europeans with whom they are in alliance, in hides, furs, &c. which they barter by the pound, for all other goods; by that means supplying the deficiency of money. But no proportion is kept to their value; what cost two shillings in England, and what cost two pence, are often sold for the same price; besides that, no attention is paid to the goodness, and a knife of the best temper and workmanship will only sell for the [62] same price as an ordinary one. The reason of this is, that, in the beginning of the commerce, the Indians themselves greatly imposed upon, fixed a price on each article, according to their own judgment; powder, balls, and several other goods, are by this means set

so low, that few people would bring them, but that the Indians refuse to trade with any person who has not brought a proportionable quantity, and the traders are cautious of losing a trade in which 5 or 600 per cent. in many articles fully recompences their loss in these.

As to religion, every one is at liberty to think for himself; whence flows a diversity of opinions amongst those that do think, but the major part do not give themselves that trouble. They generally concur, however, in the belief of one superior Being, who made them, and governs all things, and are therefore never discontent at any misfortune, because they say, the Man above would have it so. They believe in a reward and punishment, as may be evinced by their answer to Mr. Martin,[51] [63] who, having preached scripture till both his audience and he were heartily tired, was told at last, that they knew very well, that, if they were good, they should go up; if bad, down; that he could tell no more; that he had long plagued them with what they no ways understood, and that they desired him to depart the country. This, probably, was at the instigation of their conjurers, to whom these people pay

[51] "Mr. Martin, who comes convoy to ten Cherokees sent to our assistance by Old Hop." Gov. Dinwiddie (June, 1757), *D. Papers*, II, 656, also 672. (W)

a profound regard; as christianity was entirely opposite, and would soon dispossess the people of their implicit belief in their juggling art, which the professors have brought to so great perfection as to deceive Europeans, much more an ignorant race, whose ideas will naturally augment the extraordinary of any thing the least above their comprehension, or out of the common tract. After this I need not say that in every particular they are extremely superstitious, that and ignorance going always hand in hand.

They have few religious ceremonies, or stated times of general worship: the green [64] corn dance [52] seems to be the principal, which is, as I have been told, performed in a very solemn manner, in a large square before the town-house door: the motion here is very

[52] The second of the six greater festivals of the year, held when the young corn first becomes fit to taste. Bartram, *Observations*, 74, quoting John Howard Payne, who when among the Cherokees of the region (1835) wrote voluminously of their festivals. *Payne MSS.* Ayers Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. The poet in an article in the *Continental Monthly* (New York, 1862) said: "At every green corn festival the sacred square is strewn with soil yet untrodden." Page 19. Payne is quoted by Squier, in his *Serpent Symbol*, 67, as entertaining the view that the festival was a manifestation of the survival of solar worship by the Cherokees. This part of the ancient worship of the sun "outlived all the rest, though even it was not regarded to be in strict conformity to the most ancient forms."

slow, and the song in which they offer thanks to God for the corn he has sent them, far from unpleasing. There is no kind of rites or ceremonies at marriage, courtship and all being, as I have already observed, concluded in half an hour, without any other celebration, and it is as little binding as ceremonious; for though many last till death, especially when there are children, it is common for a person to change three or four times a-year. Notwithstanding this, the Indian women gave lately a proof of fidelity, not to be equalled by politer ladies, bound by all the sacred ties of marriage.

Many of the soldiers in the garrison of Fort Loudoun, having Indian wives, these brought them a daily supply of provisions, though blocked up, in order to be starved to a surrender, by their own countrymen; and [65] they persisted in this, notwithstanding the express orders of Willinawaw,[53] who, sensible of the retardment this occasioned, threatened death to those who would assist their enemy; but they laughing at his threats, boldly told him, they would succour their husbands every day, and were sure, that, if he killed

[53] A signer of the treaty at Watauga in 1775. His name is also appended to the Byrd-Randolph treaty of 1756 as "Wullonowa."

them, their relations would make his death atone for theirs. Willinawaw was too sensible of this to put his threats into execution, so that the garrison subsisted a long time on the provisions brought to them in this manner.

When they part, the children go with, and are provided for, by the mother. As soon as a child is born, which is generally without help, it is dipped into cold water and washed, which is repeated every morning for two years afterward, by which the children acquire such strength, that no ricketty or deformed are found amongst them. When the woman recovers, which is at latest in three days, she carries it herself to the river to wash it; but though three days is the longest time of their [66] illness, a great number or them are not so many hours; nay, I have known a woman delivered at the side of a river, wash her child, and come home with it in one hand, and a goard full of water in the other.

They seldom bury their dead, but throw them into the river; yet if any white man will bury them, he is generally rewarded with a blanket, besides what he takes from the corpse, the dead having commonly their guns, tommahawkes, powder, lead, silver ware, wam-

pum, and a little tobacco, buried with them; and as the persons who brings the corpse to the place of burial, immediately leave it, he is at liberty to dispose of all as he pleases, but must take care never to be found out, as nothing belonging to the dead is to be kept, but every thing at his decease destroyed, except these articles, which are destined to accompany him to the other world. It is reckoned, therefore, the worst of thefts; yet there is no punishment for this, or any other crime, mur- [67] der excepted, which is more properly revenged than punished.

This custom was probably introduced to prevent avarice, and, by preventing hereditary acquisitions, make merit the sole means of acquiring power, honour, and riches. The inventor, however, had too great a knowledge of the human mind, and our propensity to possess, not to see that a superior passion must intercede; he therefore wisely made it a religious ceremony, that superstition, the strongest passion of the ignorant, might check avarice, and keep it in the bounds he had prescribed. It is not known from whence it came, but it is of great antiquity, and not only general over all North America, but in many parts of Asia.

On this account the wives generally have separate property, that no inconveniency may arise from death or separation.

The Indians have a particular method of relieving the poor, which I shall rank among the most laudable of their religious ceremonies, [68] most of the rest consisting purely in the vain ceremonies, and superstitious romances of their conjurors. When any of their people are hungry, as they term it, or in distress, orders are issued out by the headmen for a war-dance, at which all the fighting men and warriors assemble; but here, contrary to all their other dances, one only dances at a time, who, after hopping and capering for near a minute, with a tommahawke in his hand, gives a small hoop, at which signal the music stops till he relates the manner of taking his first scalp, and concludes his narration, by throwing on a large skin spread for that purpose, a string of wampum, piece of plate, wire, paint, lead, or any thing he can most conveniently spare; after which the music strikes up, and he proceeds in the same manner through all his warlike actions: then another takes his place, and the ceremony lasts till all the warriors and fighting men have related their exploits. The stock thus raised, after paying the

musicians, is divided among the poor. The same ceremony is made use of to recompence any ex- [69] traordinary merit. This is touching vanity in a tender part, and is an admirable method of making even imperfections conduce to the good of society.

Their government, if I may call it government, which has neither laws or power to support it, is a mixed aristocracy and democracy, the chiefs being chose according to their merit in war, or policy at home; these lead the warriors that chuse to go, for there is no laws or compulsion on those that refuse to follow, or punishment to those that forsake their chief: he strives, therefore, to inspire them with a sort of enthusiasm, by the war-song, as the ancient bards did once in Britain. These chiefs, or headmen, likewise compose the assemblies of the nation, into which the war-women are admitted. The reader will not be a little surprised to find the story of Amazons not so great a fable as we imagined, many of the Indian women being as famous in war, as powerful in the council. [70]

The rest of the people are divided into two military classes, warriors and fighting men, which last are the plebeians, who have not distinguished themselves enough to be admit-

ted into the rank of warriors. There are some other honorary titles among them, conferred in reward of great actions; the first of which is Outacity, or Man-killer;[54] and the second Colona, or the Raven.[55] Old warriors likewise, or war-women, who can no longer go to war, but have distinguished themselves in their younger days, have the title of Beloved. This is the only title females can enjoy; but it abundantly recompences them, by the power they acquire by it, which is so great, that they can, by the wave of a swan's wing, deliver a wretch condemned by the council, and already tied to the stake.[56]

[54] One of Ostenaco's titles.

[55] "Points out an indefatigable, keen and successful warrior." (Adair). According to DeBrahm, the first or lowest military title was "Slave-catcher," the second "Raven," the third "Man-killer," and the highest "Great Warrior." Before receiving a title the warriors were "gunmen or boys." (W)

[56] The "War Women," who probably had a vote on questions relating to peace and war; and who were arbiters of the fate of captives in certain circumstances. Judge Haywood says: "The Cherokees had the law or custom of assigning to a certain woman the office of declaring what punishment should be inflicted on great offenders; whether, for instance, burning or other death, or whether they should be pardoned. Mrs. [Nancy] Ward exercised this office when Mrs. [William] Bean, about the year 1776, was taken from the white settlements on the upper parts of the Holston. Being bound and about to be burned on one of the mounds, the Pretty Woman interfered and pronounced her pardon." *Nat. and Aborig. Hist. of Tennessee*, 278. See for confirmation: Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, 395.

Their common names are given them by their parents; but this they can either change, or take another when they think proper; so that some of them have near half a dozen, which the English generally increase, by giving [71] an English one, from some circumstance in their lives or disposition, as the Little Carpenter to Attakullakulla, from his excelling in building houses; Judd's friend, or corruptly the Judge, to Ostenaco, for saving a man of that name from the fury of his countrymen; or sometimes a translation of his Cherokee name, as Pigeon to Woey, that being the signification of the word. The Over-hill settlement is by these two chiefs divided into two factions, between whom there is often great animosity, and the two leaders are sure to oppose one another in every measure taken. Attakullakulla has done but little in war to recommend him, but has often signalized himself by his policy, and negotiations at home. Ostenaco has a tolerable share of both; but policy and art are the greatest steps to power. Attakullakulla has a large faction with this alone, while Oconnestoto, sir-named the Great Warrior, famous for having, in all his expeditions, taken such prudent measures as never to have lost a man, has not so much power, and

Ostenaco could never have obtained the su-
[72] periority, if he had not a great reputation in both.[57]

On my arrival in the Cherokee country, I found the nation much attached to the French, who have the prudence, by familiar politeness, (which costs but little, and often does a great deal) and conforming themselves to their ways and temper, to conciliate the inclinations of almost all the Indians they are acquainted with, while the pride of our officers often disgusts them; nay, they did not scruple to own to me, that it was the trade alone that induced them to make peace with us, and not any preference to the French, whom they loved a great deal better. As however they might expect to hasten the opening of the trade by telling me this, I should have paid but little regard to it, had not my own observations confirmed me, that it was not only their general opinion, but the policy of

[57] Governor Fauquier on Ostenaco: "The chief is a man of great influence among the Cherokees and a man of integrity. . . He and the Little Carpenter have usually been heads of different parties, and he was for that reason one of the last who acceded to the Treaty, tho' he has been the foremost to treat our prisoners with humanity, and to release them." *Journal of Virginia H. of B.*, 1761-5, p. xvii. Timberlake is mistaken if he means to rank Ostenaco as even the equal, in ability or influence, of Attakullakulla or Oconostota.

most of their head-men; except Attakulla-kulla, who conserves his attachment inviolably to the English. [73]

I shall be accused, perhaps, for mentioning policy among so barbarous a nation; but tho' I own their views are not so clear and refined as those of European statesmen, their alliance with the French seems equal, proportioning the lights of savages and Europeans, to our most masterly strokes of policy; and yet we cannot be surprized at it, when we consider that merit alone creates their ministers, and not the prejudices of party, which often create ours.

The English are now so nigh, and encroached daily so far upon them, that they not only felt the bad effects of it in their hunting grounds, which were spoiled, but had all the reason in the world to apprehend being swallowed up, by so potent neighbours, or driven from the country, inhabited by their fathers, in which they were born, and brought up, in fine, their native soil, for which all men have a particular tenderness and affection. The French lay farther off, and were not so powerful; from them, therefore, they had less to [74] fear. The keeping these foreigners then more upon a footing, as a check upon

one another, was providing for their own safety, and that of all America, since they foresaw, or the French took care to shew them, that, should they be driven out, the English would in time extend themselves over all North America. The Indians cannot, from the woods of America, see the true state of Europe: report is all they have to judge by, and that often comes from persons too interested to give a just account. France's circumstances were not in such a flourishing condition as was represented; the French were conquered, and a war carried into the heart of the Cherokee country; many of their towns were sacked and plundered without a possibility of relieving them, as they lay straggled on a large extent of ground, many miles from one another; it was then their interests, or rather they were compelled to ask for peace and trade, without which they could no longer flourish. [75]

Were arts introduced, and the Cherokees contracted into a fortified settlement, governed by laws, and remoter from the English, they might become formidable; but hunting must be then laid more aside, and tame cattle supply the deficiency of the wild, as the greater the number of hunters, the more prey would be

required; and the more a place is haunted by men, the less it is resorted to by game. Means might be taken, would the Cherokees follow them, to render the nation considerable; but who would seek to live by labour, who can live by amusement? The sole occupations of an Indian life, are hunting, and warring abroad, and lazying at home. Want is said to be the mother of industry, but their wants are supplied at an easier rate.

Some days after my reception at Chilhowey, I had an opportunity of seeing some more of their diversions. Two letters I received from some officers at the Great Island occasioned a great assembly at Chote, where I was conducted to read them; but the Indians finding no- [76] thing that regarded them, the greater part resolved to amuse themselves at a game they call nettecawaw;[58] which I can give no

[58] The chunkey game. See Bartram, *Observations*, 34; Foster, *Pre-Historic Races*, 218; Jones, *Antiquities of Southern Indians*, 341. The chunkey stone somewhat resembled the discus of the Greek athletes; it was discoidal in shape, wrought of agate or quartz, beautifully polished, concave on both sides, beveled towards the outer edge; depressions in the center of both surface for the thumb and second finger. Travelers among the Creeks remark the grace and beauty of the game. "Nearly all the fine specimens that enrich the public and private collections of other States have been found in the valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers." Thruston, *Antiquities of Tennessee*, 263. (W)

other description of, than that each player having a pole about ten feet long, with several marks or divisions, one of them bowls a round stone, with one flat side, and the other convex, on which the players all dart their poles after it, and the nearest counts according to the vicinity of the bowl to the marks on his pole.

As I was informed there was to be a physic-dance at night, curiosity led me to the town-house, to see the preparation. A vessel of their own make, that might contain twenty gallons (there being a great many to take the medicine) was set on the fire, round which stood several goards filled with river-water, which was poured into the pot; this done, there arose one of the beloved women, who, opening a deer-skin filled with various roots and herbs, took out a small handful of something like fine salt; part of which she threw on the headman's seat, and part into the fire close to the pot; she [77] then took out the wing of a swan, and after flourishing it over the pot, stood fixed for near a minute, muttering something to herself; then taking a shrub-like laurel (which I supposed was the physic) she threw it into the pot, and returned to her former seat. As no more ceremony seemed to be going forward, I took a walk till the Indians assembled to take

it. At my return I found the house quite full: they danced near an hour round the pot, till one of them, with a small goard that might hold about a gill, took some of the physic, and drank it, after which all the rest took in turn.[59] One of their headmen presented me with some, and in a manner compelled me to drink, though I would have willingly declined. It was however much more palatable than I expected, having a strong taste of sassafras: the Indian who presented it, told me it was taken to wash away their sins; so that this is a spiritual medicine, and might be ranked among their religious ceremonies. They are very solicitous about its success; the conjurer, for several mornings before it is [78] drank, makes a dreadful howling, yelling, and hallowing, from the top of the town-house, to frighten away apparitions and evil spirits. According

[59] The celebrated "black drink" of the Cherokees and other Southern Indians, a decoction of the leaves and tender tops and shoots of the *cassine* shrub of the holly family. The drink caused sweating which was supposed to purify, physically and morally. The caffeine in the plant produced stimulation and a very strong infusion produced a narcotic which was used by the conjurers to evoke ecstacies. "No one is allowed to drink it in council unless he has proved himself a brave warrior." Swanton, *Early History of the Creeks*, 375; Bossu, *Travels*, II, 299; Bartram, *Observations*, 23; Hodge, I, 150; Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creeks*, I, 177-83, II, 55 *et seq.* The white people of the Carolinas prepared from the shrub a sort of tea — "Appalachian tea." (W)

to our ideas of evil spirits, such hideous noises would by sympathy call up such horrible beings; but I am apt to think with the Indians, that such noises are sufficient to frighten any being away but themselves.

I was almost every night at some dance, or diversion; the war-dance,[60] however, gave me the greatest satisfaction, as in that I had an opportunity of learning their methods of war, and a history of their warlike actions, many of which are both amusing and instructive.

I was not a little pleased likewise with their ball-plays (in which they shew great dexterity) especially when the women played, who pulled one another about, to the no small amusement of an European spectator. [79]

They are likewise very dexterous at pantomime dances; several of which I have seen performed that were very diverting. In one of these, two men, dressed in bear-skins, came in, stalking and pawing about with all the motions of real bears: two hunters followed them, who in dumb shew acted in all respects as they would do in the wood: after many attempts to shoot them, the hunters fire; one of the bears is killed, and the other wounded;

[60] Best description is in Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, (last ed.), I, 252-7. (W)

but, as they attempt to cut his throat, he rises up again, and the scuffle between the huntsmen and the wounded bear generally affords the company a great deal of diversion.

The taking the pigeons at roost was another that pleased me exceedingly; and these, with my walking and observations, furnished me with amusement for some time; but the season not always permitting my going abroad, and as I had so little to do at home, I soon grew tired of the country. The Indian senate indeed would sometimes employ me in reading and writing letters for them; of which I generally [80] acquitted myself to their satisfaction, by adding what I thought would be acceptable, and retrenching whatever might displease.

On the 17th, a party came home from hunting on Holston's River, bringing with them an eagle's tail, which was celebrated at night by a grand war-dance, and the person who killed it had the second war-title of Colona conferred upon him, besides the bounty gathered at the war-dance, in wampum, skins, &c. to the amount of thirty pounds; the tail of an eagle being held in the greatest esteem, as they sometimes are given with the wampum in their treaties, and none of their warlike ceremonies can be performed without them.

This Indian acquainted the headman of a current report in the English camp, that a large body of English were to march next spring through the Cherokees country, against the French. There was little probability or possibility in such a report, yet it was received with some degree of belief; every thing of [81] news, every flying rumour, is swallowed here by the populace. The least probability is exaggerated into a fact, and an Indian from our camp, who scarce understands four or five words of a conversation between two common soldiers, who often know as little of the state of affairs as the Indians themselves, turn all the rest of it to something he suspects, and imagines he has heard what was never once mentioned; and this, when he returns to his own country, is passed about as a certainty. From hence flows the continual mistakes the Indians unavoidably make in their councils; they must act according to intelligence, and it requires a great penetration indeed to discern the truth, when blended with so much falsity: thus they are often obliged to act according to the report of a mistaken or lying Indian, who are all but too much adicted to this vice, which proved a continual fund of uneasiness

to me all the time I remained in their country. [82]

On the 26th of January, advices were received from the Great Island, that some Cherokees had been killed by the northern Indians, who had been encouraged, and much caressed, by the commanding officer. This piece of news seemed greatly to displease them; they suspended however their judgment, till further intelligence. I began to be very uneasy for the return of an express I had sent out on my arrival, who was to come back by the Great Island, and was the only person who could give me any accounts I could rely on, as I was sensible the Indian one was infinitely exaggerated. We were yet talking of this, when the *News Hallow* was given from the top of Tommotly town-house; whereupon Ostenaco rose from the table, and went immediately to the town-house, where he staid till day. On asking him next morning, What news? he seemed very unwilling to tell me, and went out of the house, seemingly very much displeased. I then made the same question to several other Indians, whose different stories convinced me it was something they endeavoured to conceal. [83]

I was under some apprehension at this unusual incivility. It was no wonder I was alarmed; had the English given any encouragement to these northern savages, nay, had the French faction persuaded their countrymen of our countenancing them in the slaughter, the meanest of the deceased's relations had it in his power to sacrifice me to their manes, and would certainly have done it, since, in default of kindred, their revenge falls on any of the same country that unfortunately comes within their reach; and nothing could be a protection to an hostage, when capitulating could not save the garrison of Fort Loudoun: a body of Indians pursued them, and breaking through the articles, and all the laws of war and humanity, surprised and butchered them. Disguising, however, my uneasiness, I seemingly took to some diversions, while I sent M'Cormack to pry into the true cause of such a change; he following my host, found no difficulty in shuffling amongst the crowd into the town-house, where Ostenaco made the following speech. [84]

" We have had some bad talks lately from " the Great Island, which I hope nevertheless " are not true, as I should be very sorry that " the peace, so lately concluded with our bre-

"thren the English, should be broke in so "short a time: we must not judge as yet of "what we have heard from the Great Island. "If Bench the express does not return soon, I "myself will raise a party, and go to the Great "Island, where I shall get certain information "of all that has happened."

This speech was received with shouts of applause, and the assembly betook themselves to dancing.

On the 28th, I was invited to a grand eagle's tail dance,[61] at which about 600 persons of both sexes were assembled. About midnight, in the heat of their diversion, news was brought of the death of one of their principal men, killed at the Great Island by the northern Indians. This put a sudden stop to their diversion, and nothing was heard but threats of [85] vengeance. I easily concluded that this could only proceed from the confirmation of the ill news already received. I tried as much as laid in my power to mollify their anger, by telling them, that, if any accident

[61] The "feather dance" was not a war dance but was one consecrated to the worship of the Great Spirit and widely practiced by the American Indians. It was the most spectacular and graceful of all their dances, exhibiting the suppleness and flexibility as well as the power of endurance of the participants. *Ib.* 252, 268. (W)

had happened to their people, it was neither by consent or approbation of the English; that tho' the northern Indians were our allies as well as they, I was certain more favour would be shewn them than their enemies, as Capt. M'Neil, who commanded the fort, was a good, humane, brave officer, and had always shewn so much friendship for their nation, as to leave no room to doubt of his protection to any of their people who should be under his care. This satisfied them so well, that some proposed dancing again; but as it was late, they agreed to give over their diversion for that night.

On the 4th of February, an account came in almost contradictory to this. An Indian woman from Holston's River was the messenger, who related, that the northern Indians had turned their arms against the English, and [86] were then actually building a breast-work within a quarter of a mile of Fort Robinson; that, whilst one half were employed in carrying on the work, the other observed the motions of our people; but this lie was even too gross for Indians to digest; tho' the next day, another who came in confirmed it, and moreover affirmed the enemy's fortifications to be already breast-high.

The 15th was the day appointed for the return of the Little Carpenter; and his not arriving began to give his friends a great deal of uneasiness. Ostenaco bore likewise his share in it, as his brother was of the party. Here is a lesson to Europe; two Indian chiefs, whom we call barbarians, rivals of power, heads of two opposite factions, warm in opposing one another, as their interest continually clash; yet these have no farther animosity, no family-quarrels or resentment, and the brother of the chief who had gained the superiority is a volunteer under his rival's command. [87]

For my part, I was no less anxious about the express. I dispatched my servant out to meet him, and bring me the particulars of what had been transacted at the Great Island; he returned in about five or six days, with the letters the express had been charged with, leaving him to make out the rest of the journey as his fatigue would permit. Among others was a letter from Capt. M'Neil, informing me, that a party of about seventy northern Indians came to Fort Robinson a short time after I had left it, who told him, that they came from Pittsburg, with a pass from the commanding officer, to join us against the Cherokees, not knowing that we had already

concluded a peace. They seemed very much dissatisfied at coming so far to no purpose, and demanded if any Cherokees were near? They were answered, that a party were out a hunting; but, if they would be looked upon as friends to the English, they must not meddle with them, while under the protection of the commanding officer. The Indians, however, paying but little regard to this admonition, went immediately in pursuit of [88] them, and finding them a few hours after, as in no apprehension of any enemy, they fired on them before they discovered themselves, killing one, and wounding another, who however made his escape to the fort. His countrymen all did the same, without returning the fire, as few of their guns were loaded, and they inferior in number. Their enemies pursued them to the fort, but could never see them after, as Capt. M'Neil took great care to keep them asunder. Finding therefore no more likelihood of scalping, the northern Indians marched away from the fort.

This was the same party I encamped with the first night after my departure from the Great Island, and were surprised at the same place, where they had still continued.

He farther informed me, that I should pro-

bably find Fort Robinson, and all the posts on the communication, evacuated, as the regiment was to be broke. [89]

I made this letter public, with which they seemed tolerably well satisfied, particularly when I feigned the wounded Indian was under the care of an English surgeon, who would not fail to cure him in a little time.

I now began to be very desirous of returning, and acquainted Ostenaco of my anxiety, desiring him to appoint fifteen or twenty headmen, agreeable to the orders I had received from Col. Stephen, as likewise to collect all the white persons and negroes, to be sent conformable to the articles of peace, to Fort Prince-George.[62] He replied, that, as soon as the white prisoners returned from hunting, where they then were with their masters (the white people becoming slaves, and the property of those that take them) he would set about the performance. Some time after this, when all the prisoners were come in, I again attacked Ostenaco; but then his horses could

[62] An account of the prisoners, doubtless given by Timberlake when in England in 1765, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year: "Among them were above twenty boys who had become so habituated to the Indian manners that, after they were delivered up, they did nothing but cry, and would not eat." XXXIV, 152. See note 33a. (W)

not be found, and there was a necessity of having one or two to carry my baggage and his own. I then waited till the horses were found; but when [90] I supposed all things ready for our departure, I was greatly surprised to find it delayed. Ostenaco told me, that one of the Carpenter's party, which was on its return home, had come in the night before, and reported, that the Carolinians had renewed the war before they had well concluded a peace. The Indian had, according to custom, a long account of it; but tho' I shewed the improbability of such a story, Ostenaco refused to set out before the Carpenter arrived, which was not till the 23d following. He brought in the same report, but owned he did not believe it, as it was told him by a person who he thought wanted to raise some disturbance.

I now began to be very pressing with Ostenaco, threatening if he would not set out immediately, to return without him. This however would have been my last resource, as I was for the space of 140 miles ignorant of every step of the way. I at last prevailed on him; but on the 10th of March, while we were again preparing for our departure, the *Death* [91] *Hallow* was heard from the top of Tommotly town-house. This was to give notice of

the return of a party commanded by Willinawaw, who went to war towards the Shawnese country some time after my arrival. After so many disappointments, I began to think I should never get away, as I supposed this affair would keep me, as others had done, two or three days, and till some new accident should intervene to detain me longer. About eleven o'clock the Indians, about forty in number, appeared within sight of the town; as they approached, I observed four scalps, painted red on the flesh-side, hanging on a pole, and carried in front of the line, by the second in command, while Willinawaw brought up the rear. When near the town-house, the whole marched round it three times, singing the war-song, and at intervals giving the *Death Hallow*; after which, sticking the pole just by the door, for the crowd to gaze on, they went in to relate in what manner they had gained them. Curiosity prompted me to follow them into the town-house; where, [92] after smoaking a quarter of an hour in silence, the chief gave the following account of their campaign.

"After we left Tommotly, which was about "the middle of January, we travelled near "400 miles before we saw the least sign of the "enemy; at last, one evening, near the river

" Ohio, we heard the report of several guns,
" whereupon I sent out several scouts to dis-
" cover who they were, and if possible where
" they encamped, that we might attack them
" early next morning; about dark the scouts
" returned, and informed us they were a party
" of Shawnese, hunting buffaloes; that they
" had watched them to the river-side, where,
" taking to their canoes, they had paddled
" across the river; and seeing a great many
" fires on the other side, where our scouts di-
" rected our sight, we concluded it to be a
" large encampment; we thereupon began to
" consult, whether it would be more advisable
" to cross the river over night, or early next
" morning: it was [93] decided in favour of
" the former, notwithstanding its snowing ex-
" cessively hard, lest we should be discovered.
" We accordingly stripped ourselves, tying
" our guns to our backs, with the buts up-
" wards, to which we hung our ammunition,
" to prevent its getting wet; we then took
" water, and swam near half a mile to the other
" side, where we huddled together to keep
" warm, intending to pass the remainder of
" the night in that manner, and to fall on the
" enemy at daybreak; but as it continued snow-
" ing the whole time, it proved so cold, that

" we could endure it no longer than a little
" past midnight, when we resolved to surround
" the enemy's camp, giving the first fire, and,
" without charging again, run on them with
" our tommahawkes, which we had tucked in
" our belts for that purpose, should there be
" occasion. We accordingly surrounded them;
" but when the signal was given for firing,
" scarce one fourth of our guns went off, wet
" with the snow, notwithstanding all the pre-
" cautions we had ta- [94] ken to preserve them
" dry: we then rushed in; but, before we came
" to a close engagement, the enemy returned our
" fire; as, it was at random, not being able to
" see us before we were upon them, on account
" of the darkness of the night, and the thick-
" ness of the bushes, we received no damage.
" They had not time to charge again, but
" fought us with the buts of their guns, tom-
" mahawkes, and firebrands. In the begin-
" ning of the battle we took two prisoners, who
" were continually calling out to their coun-
" trymen to fight strong, and they would soon
" conquer us; this made them fight much bold-
" er, till the persons who had the prisoners in
" custody put a stop to it, by sinking a tomma-
" hawke in each of their skulls, on which their
" countrymen took to flight, and left every

" thing behind them. As soon as it was day, " we examined the field, where we found two " more of the enemy dead, one of which was a " French warrior, which, with the prisoners " we had killed, are the four scalps we have " brought in. We lost only [95] one man, the " poor brave Raven of Togua,[63] who ran rash- " ly before us in the midst of the enemy. We " took what things we could conveniently " bring with us, and destroyed the rest."

Having finished his account of the expedition, out of his shot-pouch he pulled a piece of paper, wrapped up in a bit of birch-bark, which he had taken out of the Frenchman's pocket, and gave it to me to look at, asking if I did not think it was his commission? I replied in the negative, telling him it was only some private marks of his own, which I did not understand. It appears to me to have been his journal,[64] every seventh line being longer than the others, to denote the Sunday; the death's head, and other marks, relate to what happened on the several days; but having filled his paper long before his death, he had supplied it by interlining with a pin. These are my conjectures, I have however annexed

[63] Misprint for Toqua. (W)

[64] See Appendix. (W)

it here from the ori- [96] ginal, still in my possession, that each reader may make his own.

About one o'clock the baggage and all things being ready, Ostenaco took leave of his friends, tho' this ceremony is unusual among them, and we began our march sooner than I expected. Passing thro' Toqua, we saw several Indians weeping for the death of their relations, killed in the late battle. In an hour's time we arrived at Chote, where we found a great number of headmen assembled to give us a talk, containing instructions to my Indian conductors, to remind the English of their promises of friendship, and to press the Governor of Virginia to open a trade; for the Indians to behave well to the inhabitants when they arrived, as that was the only way to keep the chain of friendship bright; that we should keep a good look-out, as the enemy were very numerous on the path. What occasioned this precaution, and probably Ostenaco's delaying his departure so long, was, the defeat of a party of about thirty Indians, who went out to war some time before, the same way [97] that we were to go, eight of whom had been killed or taken. They attributed this loss to the want of arrows, the northern Indians having

poured several vollies of arrows, and done great execution, before the Cherokees could charge again, after the first fire. This was especially disadvantageous to the Cherokees, as both parties met unexpectedly on the top of a mountain, which they were both crossing, and engaged so close, that the northern Indians availed themselves of this advantage, and the superiority of their numbers.

Two pieces of cannon [65] were fired when we had got about 200 yards from the town-house, after which Ostenaco sung the war-song, in which was a prayer for our safety thro' the intended journey; this he bellowed out loud enough to be heard at a mile's distance. We did not march above three miles before we encamped, in order to give time to some Indians who were to accompany us, but had not yet joined us, which they did in the evening, about fourteen or fifteen in number. Next [98] morning, the 11th of March, we rose tolerably early, marching to Little River, about twenty miles from the nation, where we encamped.

At this place had formerly been an Indian town, called Elajoy; and I am surprised how the natives should ever abandon so beautiful and fertile a spot. Were it in a more polished

[65] From ill-fated Fort Loudoun. (W)

country, it would make the finest situation for a gentleman's seat I ever saw.[66]

We marched the next day to Broad River, which we crossed about four o'clock in the afternoon, without much difficulty, by reason of the lowness of the waters; but the river, which is here 700 yards over, runs with great rapidity, and the banks extremely steep on either side. We encamped directly, and were all employed in making a large fire to dry ourselves, as most of us had got very wet.

Before sun-set I perceived a considerable number of Indians passing at the same place, whom I at first imagined to be enemies; but the [99] arrival of some of them shewed them to be Cherokees, who kept continually dropping in, so that I was greatly surprised next morning at their numbers. I demanded where they were going? to which they replied, To Virginia; that the headsmen had thought proper to send a reinforcement, thinking it unsafe for so small a body to march through a country so much frequented by the enemy, where, if I met with any accident, the blame would fall upon them. I thanked them; but at the same time told them peremptorily to go

[66] Ellijay on Little River. The author's description of the locality is not overdrawn. The town of Maryville and a great plant of the American Aluminum Company are in the valley.

back, and give themselves no further trouble on my account; that I had no occasion for them; and that it would be impossible for so large a body to subsist when passed the hunting grounds, as the people on the frontiers of Virginia had been so impoverished by the late war, they would not be able to supply us with provisions. This made no impression on them, and they marched on without saying another word, and persisted in going, notwithstanding all the efforts Ostenaco and I could make to prevent them. Indeed I was more earnest to have them return, as I [100] found it was the scent of presents, more than the desire of escorting me, that was the real motive of all this good-will.

We left the camp the next day, about 165 in number, and marched without any extraordinary occurrence till the 15th, about mid-day, when we heard our scouts on the left (for we always kept on both flanks) fire pretty quick after one another, and in less than a minute seventeen or eighteen buffaloes ran in amongst us, before we discovered them, so that several of us had like to have been run over, especially the women, who with some difficulty sheltered themselves behind the trees. Most of the men fired, but, firing at random, one only was

killed, tho' several more wounded. Our scouts likewise killed another, and brought in the best parts of the meat, all which was cooked overnight for our departure next morning.[67]

After passing a very disagreeable night on account of the rain, which, as the evening had been clear, I had taken no precaution to shelter my- [101] self against. We had as disagreeable a march, it proved very rainy, and were again obliged to encamp to a great disadvantage for the convenience of good water.

On the 17th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we met an Indian who left the Great Island some time after me, with a party of ten or twelve, destined to Williamsburg, who, after he had eat, drank, and smoaked, told us the party that he belonged to had been attacked two days before; that two of them had been killed, two or three taken, and the rest dispersed; that he had reason to believe there were a great many of the enemy upon the path, as he had seen a great many tracks and other signs.

On this intelligence, Ostenaco ordered all his men to fresh prime their guns, and those that had bows and arrows to put them in read-

[67] The part of the flesh taken from the hump was considered the choicest. (W)

iness, sending out some scouts, and desiring all to keep a good look-out. After these dispositions we parted with the fugitive Indian, and continued our route. At night our scouts came in, and in- [102] formed us, that they had seen some old tracks, and a piece of an old red waistcoat, dropped by the enemy, to inform us they were thereabouts. We made large fires to dry ourselves, while Ostenaco, and four or five others, took out and waved their eagles tails, then turning towards the place where the tracks had been discovered, gave the war-hoop several times extremely loud. This was to let the enemy know, if within hearing, and disposed for an engagement, where he and his party lay. This however Ostenaco probably would not have done, had he not confided in the number of his party, being greatly superior to what commonly go to make war on one another. Before the Indians went to sleep, he gave them a strong caution, and instructions how to act in case they were attacked.

We decamped pretty early next morning, in order, if possible, to reach the Great Island that day; but the scouts had not been out an hour before some returned with an account of fresh tracks and other signs of the enemy. I really expected a skirmish with the northern

Indians, as they [103] might probably imagine some Cherokees would return with me when I left their country; and it was probable the party I had received an account of, and had given so many checks to the Cherokees since, were still waiting.

As we marched very slow, on account of receiving intelligence from our scouts, which they brought in every two or three hours, we encamped short of the Great Island about seven or eight miles.

The next morning we were in no great hurry to decamp, as we intended to go no farther than the Great Island that day. By this retardment each man had time to put his arms in proper order. We set out about eleven o'clock, and, after four or five miles march, Ostenaco desired me to go before, to see if any of the enemy were there. The northern Indians being at peace with us, was urged as a sufficient protection, tho', at setting out, they seemed a little apprehensive of my falling into such desperadoes hands, or rather of their losing their share of the [104] presents. I was to tell the enemy, if I met them, that the Cherokees were but few in number, and but indifferently armed; after which Sumpter and I were furnished with horses, and went forward pretty

briskly, till we reached Holston's River, the crossing-place of which was within a mile of Fort Robinson. We had not forded above half-way over, when we heard the report of a gun, which made us conclude that our suspicions of the enemy's being there were but too justly grounded; we rode gently towards the fort to make our observations; but no enemy appearing, on entering the clear ground about the fort, and perceiving some smoak from one of the chimnies, we rode within an hundred yards of it, and hallowed, but nobody appearing, we went to the gate, and gave another hoop, which, to my great surprise, instead of the enemy, brought a white man out of one of the houses, whom I immediately recollected to be M'Lamore the interpreter, that accompanied the discomfited party of Cherokees, I lately mentioned, to Virginia, [105] and he was soon followed by the man who had fired the gun.

I returned to the party, highly satisfied at my good fortune, in not being obliged to displease the Indians, by breaking thro' so disagreeable and dangerous a commission, who had already crossed the river when I joined them.

We found in the fort eleven or twelve hundred weight of flour, left by the garrison when they evacuated the place, which abundantly recompensed the Indians for all their fatigues.

We remained here all next day to rest ourselves, and mend our mockasons, tho' such fine weather was scarce to be lost, considering the very bad we had experienced most of the way from the Cherokee country; this made me extremely anxious to be going forward, but the Indians seldom hurry themselves when they were to leave such good cheer, after having passed most of the way without bread. I was in- [106] formed by M'Lamore, that the flour had been left for want of horses to carry it away, as well as the goods I had observed in one of the store-houses, belonging to a private trader; that the northern Indians, after defeating the small party to which he belonged, and taking him and two more prisoners, came to the fort, where, notwithstanding our alliance with them, they destroyed a great quantity of the flour and goods, and carried a great quantity more away, as well as the man that had the care of them; but that, after some days march, all the prisoners found means to make their escape: that they two returned to

the fort, one proposing to wait my coming, and return with me to Virginia, and M'Lamore to go back to the Cherokee country.

I next day intreated Ostenaco to order his men to get ready for the march, as the weather was fine, and it would be agreeable travelling; but notwithstanding all he or I could say, not a man of them would stir; their excuse was, that one of their horses was lost, and the owner out [107] in search of him. We waited his return till night, when he came, but no horse was to be found. I was very much mortified at this accident, as I was anxious to know what was become of my camp-equipage, cloaths, &c. I had left at Fort Attakullakulla.[68]

On the 22d, we rose early in the morning, to make a good day's march, but the horse was not found till near twelve o'clock: I then thought our immediate departure certain, but was again disappointed; the person who had the care of the goods, missing a piece of broad-cloth, charged the Indians with the theft, and a general search was made to no purpose. Ostenaco then ordered all within the fort, while he and the conjuror went into the house from whence it was stole, to beg the

[68] At Stalnaker's, and an encampment rather than a fort. Doubtless so named by Col. Byrd to compliment the chief. See note 15, *ante*. (W)

devil's advice about recovering it. The conjuror might perhaps have saved himself that trouble, for tho' I am at a loss to guess in what manner, I am inclined to believe he had as great a hand in the loss as in the recovery of it. I desired him to trouble himself no farther about it, chus- [108]ing rather to pay for it, than be detained any longer; but all I could say could not divert him from his conjuring, which however furnished me with a few more of their oddities.

After staying some time, the conjuror sallied out blindfolded, and groped about, till he came to the skirts of the woods, where, pulling off the blind, he went straight forwards, a considerable way, and returned in about five minutes with the broad-cloth on his shoulders. I observed his cheek tied up with a bit of twine, which, when untied, bled very much. I gave the conjuror two yards as a reward for playing the fool, and we marched forward, encamping about ten miles from the fort.

We called in our way at Fort Attakullakulla, which was likewise evacuated, looked for my cloaths, &c. but they were all stolen and carried off by the soldiers, except a small trunk, with a few trifles, I found afterwards at New River. [109]

Some time after, we met Capt. Israel Christian [69] going with a cargo of goods, to trade in the Cherokee country. I here endeavoured to send back the greatest part of the Indians; but notwithstanding all the persuasions the Captain and I could make use of, not a man of them would return, till the Captain promised the same presents to those that would go back as would be given to those that went forward, not doubting but that he would be reimbursed, as the charge of victualling of them would be entirely saved; but as this expence fell entirely upon me, as will appear in the sequel, it was rather taking the burthen off me than off the public. I am heartily sorry, however, this gentleman has suffered, as well as myself, for his good intentions, and more so, that it is not in my power to discharge the public debt, and reimburse him. But even by this we could only reduce our number to about seventy-two.

We called at Fort Lewis,[70] where we found

[69] Father of Col. William Christian and father-in-law of Col. William Fleming and Col. Stephen Trigg. He was a captain as early as 1756; in House of Burgesses, 1759-61. He was from the Isle of Man, whence he removed to Dublin, then to Virginia. Founder of Christiansburg, Virginia; died 1784. (W)

[70] 1755, near Salem, Virginia, named in honor of Andrew Lewis, then a major. Lewis had superintended the construction of the Virginia fort near Chota in 1756. (W)

William Shorey the interpreter,[71] who, by order of Col. Stephen, had waited our coming, to ac- [110] company the Indians to Williamsburg. I received here between seventy and eighty pounds that was due to me, which came very opportunely to defray our expenses to Williamsburg; where we arrived in about eleven days after our departure from Fort Lewis.

On my arrival, I waited on the Governor, who seemed somewhat displeased with the number of Indians that had forced themselves upon me. Orders however were issued out for their accommodation, and a few days after a council was called, at which Ostenaco, and some of the principal Indians, attended. After the usual ceremonies, and mutual promises of friendship, the Indians were dismissed, and presents ordered them, to the amount of 125 *l.* currency; 12 *l.* 10 *s.* for Ostenaco, the same sum to be sent back to King Kanagatucko, and the rest to be divided among the party, who seemed much displeased when it came to be divided, being, as they said, like nothing

[71] Ann Shorey, a half-breed daughter, married John McDonald, a Scotchman, and was the grandmother of the great Cherokee Chief John Ross. The McDonalds and Rosses lived near Lookout Mountain. (W)

among them. I was apprehensive of some bad consequence should they return dissatisfied, and therefore ad- [111] vanced pretty considerably out of my own pocket to content them.

A few days before they were to depart for their own country, Mr. Horrocks,[72] invited Ostenaco and myself to sup with him at the College, where, amongst other curiosities, he shewed him the picture of his present Majesty. The chief viewed it a long time with particular attention; then turning to me, "Long," said he, "have I wished to see the king my father; " this is his resemblance, but I am determined " to see himself; I am now near the sea, and " never will depart from it till I have obtained " my desires." He asked the Governor next day, who, tho' he at first refused, on Ostenaco's insisting so strongly upon it, gave his consent.[73] He then desired, as I had been with him so long, that I might accompany him to

[72] Rev. James Horrocks, a professor in William and Mary College; he was president of the institution 1764-71. (W)

[73] Gov. Fauquier to the English government: "As the Little Carpenter had formerly been in England, he [the chief] most earnestly solicited me and the Council that he might have permission to go to England to see the great King, his Father, and judge whether the Little Carpenter had not told them lies. . . I have accordingly put him, two of his followers and a faithful Interpreter on board Captain Blake's Sloop [L'Epreuve] to be transported to England. . . The Indians will be accompanied by Mr. Timberlake, an ensign in our Regiment, who has been

England: this I was to do at my own expence; but the Governor told me he would recommend me to the minister of state, which he did in as strong terms as I could desire. [112]

I was then upon the point of entering into a very advantageous commerce, which I quitted to please the Indians, and preserve them ours, yet wavering to the French interest. I prepared every thing necessary for my voyage; but this was not my only expence, the Indians having no money, expect the person who travels with them to treat them with whatever they take a fancy to.

We set out for Hampton [74] about the begining of May, where we were to embark; but contrary winds, and other delays, retarded us

in the Cherokee Over Hill Towns and is much respected by the Indians, etc." *H. of B. Journal,* May 1, 1762. (W)

[74] A pleasing description of the Chief and of his departure for England was left by Thomas Jefferson who was at the time a student at William and Mary:

"I knew much of the great Outassetè, the warrior and orator of the Cherokees. He was always the guest of my father on his journeys to and from Williamsburg. I was in his camp when he made his great farewell oration to his people the evening before he departed for England. The moon was in full splendour, and to her he seemed to address himself in his prayers for his own safety on the voyage and that of his people during his absence. His sounding voice, distinct articulation, animated action, and the solemn silence of his people at their several fires, filled me with awe and veneration, although I did not understand a word he uttered." Hirst, *Jefferson,* 16. (W)

till the 15th, during which time it generally cost me between 15 and 20 s. per day.

We had very fine weather during the whole voyage, yet both the Indians[75] and myself were sea-sick all the way. We parted with a convoy we had under our care off Newfoundland, in a very thick fog, notwithstanding all the efforts Capt. Blake could make, by ringing bells, and firing every quarter of an hour, to keep them together, tho' I afterwards heard him se- [113] verely accused in England of taking this opportunity to leave his charge.

We had the misfortune here to lose the interpreter Shorey, who was much regretted by us all, but especially by the Indians, as he was a thorough master of their language. He had lingered some time in a consumption, caught in passing a small river, for, being drunk, his Indian spouse plunged him in to sober him, but was unable to draw him out, and had not some Indians come to her assistance he must have been drowned. This was an effectual means of sobering him, but by it he contracted the malady that carried him off.

During our voyage the Indians conceived

[75] One of the two Indians who accompanied Ostenaco was mentioned in the *St. James Chronicle* (London, July 22-24, 1762) as "Tohanohawighton." No mention of the name of the other has been found. (W)

very advantageous ideas of our naval force; the Captain having chased and brought too about sixteen sail, found them all to be English or neutral vessels, on which the Cherokees concluded the French and Spaniards were certainly afraid to put to sea. [114]

On the 16th of June we arrived at Plymouth, where, before we went on shore, the Indians had their desire of seeing a large man of war gratified, by being carried on board the Revenge, a seventy-four gun ship, with which they were equally pleased and surprised.

While in the boat that took us to shore, Ostenaco, painted in a very frightful manner, sung a solemn dirge with a very loud voice, to return God thanks for his safe arrival. The loudness and uncouthness of his singing, and the oddity of his person, drew a vast crowd of boats, filled with spectators, from all the ships in the harbour; and the landing place was so thronged, that it was almost impossible to get to the inn, where we took post for London.

We stopped at Exeter, where the Indians were shewed the cathedral, but, contrary to my expectation, were as little struck as if they had been natives of the place. They were much better pleased the next day with Lord Pembroke's seat at Wilton, till they saw the

statue [115] of Hercules with his club uplifted, which they thought so dreadful that they begged immediately to be gone.

We arrived the next day in London, without any other accident than the breaking down of the chaise in which the Indians were, but happily none of them were hurt.[76]

Capt. Blake waited on Lord Egremont, to acquaint him with our arrival. We were immediately sent for, and, after some few questions, dismissed. Lodgings were ordered, and taken by Mr. N—— Caccanthropos. We were again sent for by Lord Egremont, but more to gratify the curiosity of some of his friends than about business. I however took this opportunity of slipping my letter of recommendation into his Lordship's hands, which he read, and assured me he would shew it to the King that day; telling me to let the Indians or myself want for nothing; that as I was a perfect

[76] June 18th: "They are tall, well-made Men, near six feet high, dressed in their own Country Fashion, with only a Shirt, Trowsers, and Mantle round them; their Faces are painted of a Copper Colour, and their Heads adorned with Shells, Feathers, Earrings, and other trifling Ornaments. They neither of them can speak to be understood, and very unfortunately lost their Interpreter, who died in the Passage, which obliges them to make their wants and Desires known as well as they can by dumb Signs. They are shy of Company, especially in a Crowd, by whom they avoid being seen as much as possible." *St. James Chronicle*, June 19th. (W)

stranger, he had ordered Mr. Caccanthropos to provide whatever we desired. [116]

My first care was to equip the Indians. I attended Mr. Caccanthropos, to order all after the mode of their own country.

As several days passed before I had any further orders, the Indians became extremely anxious to see the King. "What is the reason," said they, "that we are not admitted to see the "Great King our Father, after coming so far "for that purpose?" I was obliged to reply, "That his Majesty was indisposed, and could "not be waited on till perfectly recovered," which in some measure pacified them. We were taken not long after to court; but I was only asked a few questions, of which I gave the interpretation to the Indians that might be most favourably received.

The uncommon appearance of the Cherokees [77] began to draw after them great crowds

[77] The first public appearance of the Indians was June 23, in Kensington Gardens, "all dressed in English Fashion and seemed highly delighted with the Place;" two days later they visited Westminster Abbey. Two English officers who had seen service in America and learned something of their language accompanied them to aid as interpreters. Sir Alexander Cuming began "reviewing his manuscripts of the Cherokee Language in order to enable him to converse with the Indian Chief." *St. James Chronicle*, of June 26, July 1, 1762. On July 9, they dined with the Lord Mayor. "They seemed to be greatly pleased with the numerous concourse of Ladies and Gentlemen

of people of all ranks; at which they were so much displeased, that home became irksome to them, and they were forever teizing me to take them to some public diversion. Their favou- [117] rite was Sadler's-Wells; the activity of the performers, and the machinery of the pantomime, agreeing best with their notions of diversion. They were likewise very fond of Ranelagh, which, from its form, they compared to their town-house; but they were better pleased with Vauxhall,[78] tho' it was

who crowded to see them pass." *Ib.* July 10. They also visited the Tower, St. Paul's Cathedral and other show-places of London. Among those who called on the Indians was the poet Goldsmith, who waited three hours before he could gain admittance. The poet gave Ostenaco a present which was acknowledged by an embrace from the chief which left Goldsmith's face well bedaubed with vermillion. Goldsmith's *Animated Nature* I, 351; Irving's *Life of Goldsmith*, Ch. 13; Goodpasture, *Indian Wars and Warriors*, Ch. 4.

"The Cherokee Chiefs are sitting for their pictures to Mr. [afterward Sir Joshua] Reynolds." *St. James Chronicle*, July 3. A separate portrait was made of Ostenaco from which was made an illustration for the *Royal Magazine*, of London, of July, 1762. See frontispiece. (W)

[78] "At Vauxhall Gardens they had a very sumptuous Entertainment. The Wines first set before them were Burgundy and Claret, which however, they did not seem greatly to relish. Others were then placed on the Table, when they fixed upon Frontiniac, the sweetness of which highly hit their Palates, and they drank of it very freely." On a second visit to Vauxhall Gardens "it is supposed not less than Ten Thousand Persons crouded thither to obtain a sight of these Indians. Swallowing by wholesale Bumpers of Frontiniac, they entertained themselves

always against my inclination I accompanied them there, on account of the ungovernable curiosity of the people, who often intruded on them, and induced them to drink more than sufficient. Once, in particular, one of the young Indians got extremely intoxicated, and committed several irregularities, that ought rather to be attributed to those that enticed them, than to the simple Indians, who drank only to please them. I cannot indeed cite sobriety as their characteristic; but this I can say, these excesses never happened at home. A bottle of wine, a bowl of punch, and a little cyder, being the ordinary consumption of the three Indians, Sumpter, and myself; and as we were seldom at home, it could not put the nation to a great expence. If the bills given in for these articles were to [118] the greatest

and the gasping multitude by sounding the keys of the Organ, scraping upon the Strings of a Violin, clapping their Hands in Return for the Claps of Applause bestowed upon them." Between two and three o'clock in the morning the Indians started for their coach, when Ostenaco's garment unluckily fell foul of a gentleman's sword-hilt. The sword was drawn, but Ostenaco seized and broke it. His bloody hands he exposed to the crowd as if in remonstrance and complaint. He was by force dumped into the coach. "The coachman, by driving away, put an end to this wretched Scene of British curiosity and savage Debauchery." The *St. James Chronicle* is in accord with Timberlake in placing the blame on selfish proprietors of public places in London who raised the price of admission to make the most they could out of the nation's guests. (W)

degree excessive, let them that charged them answer who consumed them; I only know that no more was ever drank by us.

This was not the only thing laid to my charge; I was accused of receiving money for admission to see the Indians. The sheep was accused by the wolf of rapine, who carried his point. He was a thorough-paced under-courtier; the sheep, a raw Virginian, who, ignorant of little arts, innocently believed others as honest as himself, and could never believe such impudence existed, as to accuse another of crimes his conscience assured him he was sole actor of. I was so prepossessed with these opinions, that I can scarce as yet, however severely I have felt it, believe that some men have no ideas of conscience, and esteem it the prejudices of education, and a narrow mind; and that blasting an innocent person's character, whenever it answered their ends, or that robbing the nation was no crime, when they could escape punishment. [119]

It was a long time before I knew any thing of these money-taking works. The following accident was what brought it to light. Finding myself entirely confined by the continual crowds of visitors, I resolved to lessen the number, by ordering the servants to admit

none but people of fashion. This was what would have been at once agreeable to the Indians, and raised their ideas of the English nation. So far from these orders being complied with, the whole rabble of the town was ushered in the next day. Not a little mortified, I complained to Lord Egremont, who, already perhaps prepossessed against me, only told me coldly, that he would speak of it to Mr. Caccanthropos. At my return, tho' I found the house full of people, I said nothing more.

Some days after, Sumpter, who had contracted some genteel acquaintance, some of whom he was bringing to see the Indians, was stopped by the servant, Mr. Caccanthropos's relation, who refused to admit them without money. The young man, who had faced all dangers for the [120] service of his country in the war, who had been so highly instrumental in saving us from the dangers that threatened us in going to their country, and had accompanied us ever since, received that affront from an insolent servant; but not being able to bear the insult, he took a warrior's satisfaction, and knocked him down. A blunt Virginian soldier cannot know the laws of England, as little can he bear an insult from so mean a quarter.

The servant informed his kinsman, who

came next day open-mouthed, threatening Sumpter with the crown-office. He next gave me such scurrilous language, that I was perfectly at a loss how to retort it adequately; I had subject enough, but being accustomed to gentlemen's company, I could scarce understand his dialect: piqued, however, at the stinging truths I told him, he threatened me with confinement also, assaying to intimidate me from publishing them, by reminding me that he was a justice of the peace. Happily I reflected on the disparity of his years and strength to mine; my hands had [121] near disgraced me, by striking a person I so much every way despised. He dared not, however, put his threats into execution; his only vengeance for affronting me, was ordering the people of the house to feed us for the future on ox-cheek, cow-heel, and such like dainties, fit entertainment for Indians accustomed to only the choicest parts of the beast, and very fit to raise their opinion of England. I however understanding Lord Egremont's orders in a different light, took care to provide whatever was requisite for the Indians, avoiding at the same time all appearance of extravagance.

Sumpter's company were not the only persons to whom admittance was refused; the

same servant had even the impudence to stop Lady T-r—l-y.[79] Her Ladyship sent immediately for Mrs. Quin, the gentlewoman of the house, to enquire if I encouraged the servants in taking money for seeing the Indians. Mrs. Quin set her Ladyship to rights in that particular; but still whatever exactions these fellows made, the public generally laid to me. I was cleared, how- [122] ever, by Cacanthropos himself, who once attempted to stop Mr. Montague; and his fear and confusion on finding whom he had offended, in some measure revenged me.

Soon after these disturbances, orders were given by Lord Egremont, that no person whatever should be admitted, without an order from himself, or Mr. Wood, under Secretary of State: but instead of the throngs decreasing by this order, it rather increased; and I really believe few persons have more friends than Mr. Wood, if he knew but half of those that were ushered in under that name; nay, grown bolder by that sanction, they pressed into the Indians dressing room, which gave them the highest disgust, these people having a particular aversion to being stared at while dressing or eating; on which last occasion, if I was irk-

[79] Lady Letitia Trelawney (?) (W)

some myself, judge what a crowd of strangers must be. They were so disgusted, that they grew extremely shy of being seen, so that I had the greatest difficulty in procuring Lord C—t—f—d [80] a sight of them; on which, being a little angry, I was afterwards in- [123] formed, his Lordship had been offended at something I am yet a stranger to. It ever was against my inclination to give offence to even the lowest class of mankind, much less to Lord C—t—f—d.

I was not only, however, accused of receiving money at our lodgings, but at the public places we frequented. To this I answer, so far from making by them, it generally cost me pretty considerable to the servants, besides coach-hire; for tho' one was allowed us, we could command it no oftener than Mr. Cacanthropos was pleased to do us that favour; and this expence was entirely out of my own pocket, without any prospect of reimbursement.

As to the charge laid against me, the proprietors are still alive, and any person that entertains the smallest doubt, may, and would oblige me, by enquiring of themselves, whether I ever demanded or took directly or indi-

[80] Lord Chesterfield. (W)

rectly any money or consideration whatever from them. [124]

But let us now return to the Indians. Some time before they left England, they were admitted to a conference with his Majesty at St. James's.[81] Ostenaco's speech on that occasion contained nothing more than protestations of friendship, faithful alliance, &c. To which an answer was afterwards given in writing, to be interpreted in their own country, as I was not conversant enough in their language to translate it; though I understood whatever they said, especially the speech, which I gave word for word to his Majesty, as Shorey had likewise explained it before his death, except the last part, which was so much in my favour that I was obliged to suppress it, and was in some

[81] Introduced by Lord Eglinton, and conducted by Sir Clement Cottrell, master of ceremonies, they were upward of an hour and a half with his Majesty. The dress of Ostenaco was a very rich blue mantle covered with lace; on his breast a silver gorget with his Majesty's arms engraved. The other two Indians were in scarlet richly adorned with gold lace, and gorgets of plate on their breasts. "They were received by his Majesty and their Behavior was remarkably humble and meek. . . There seemed to be a Mixture of Majesty and Moroseness in their Countenances. . . The man who assisted as Interpreter was so much confused that he [King George III] could ask but few Questions." *The Gazetteer* and *London Daily Advertiser*, July 9; *Annual Register*, V, 92. Lord Eglinton, as Col. Montgomery, led six hundred Highlanders and six hundred Royal Americans against the Cherokees, in 1760. *Ante.* (W)

confusion in finding wherewith to supply it; till I at last told his Majesty, that it was only in some manner a repetition of that part of his discourse.

They were struck with the youth, person, and grandeur of his Majesty, and conceived as great an opinion of his affability as of his power, the greatness of which may be seen [125] on my telling them in what manner to behave; for finding Ostenaco preparing his pipe to smoak with his Majesty, according to the Indian custom of declaring friendship, I told him he must neither offer to shake hands or smoak with the King, as it was an honour for the greatest of our nation to kiss his hand. You are in the right, says he, for he commands over all next to the Man above, and no-body is his equal. Their ideas were likewise greatly increased by the number of ships in the river, and the warren at Woolwich, which I did not fail to set out to the greatest advantage, intimating that our Sovereign had many such ports and arsenals round the kingdom.[82]

[82] An amusing scene was witnessed when Mr. Montague, Virginia's agent in London, conducted the Indians to a parade of the grenadiers. They entered the guard room just as the grenadiers in drill were fixing their bayonets; the Indians were much agitated, having a suspicion of treachery; and were impatient to leave desiring "to see no more of those warriors with capes." *Ib.* July 22. (W)

Some days before the Indians set out on their return to their own country Lord Egremont sent for me, and informed me that the Indians were to be landed at Charles Town; but this was so contrary to their inclination, that Ostenaco positively declared, that, unless he was to land in Virginia, he would not stir [126] a step from London. His Lordship then desired me to tell them that they should land at Virginia, but at the same time gave me to understand, that the ship being to be stationed at Charles Town, they must absolutely be landed there. I informed his Lordship that it was entirely out of my power to accompany them there, having scarce five shillings remaining out of the 130 pounds I had received, the best part of which I laid out for the Indians use, rather than apply to Mr. Cacanthropos; that I was ready to obey his Lordship, if he would please to order me wherewith to defray my expences from Charles Town to Virginia. My Lord replied, that no more could be advanced; that if I refused to accompany them, others must be found that would.

Sumpter was immediately sent for by Mr. Wood; but he refused the employ till he had obtained my approbation; nay, I was obliged to use the most persuasive arguments to deter-

mine him to go; so that it was then in my power (had I been the man I was represented) to have made what terms I pleased, since the [127] Indians would not have gone without one of us, and Sumpter had too much honour to accompany them to my prejudice. I scorned so low an action; but told Sumpter, that tho' I had only asked my expences, which might amount to about twenty or twenty-five pounds, there was a difference between his going and mine; that he must make the voyage in the view of advantage, whereas I had sought none in it, except returning to my native country. The terms agreed on were fifty pounds in hand, and a hundred on his arrival; and it was even in his power to insist on more.[83]

Had I really had the money, I should not have troubled the government, or deserted the Indians; but to be landed in a strange country without money, and far from my friends, did not seem very eligible. I was extremely rejoiced at the young man's advantage; yet could

[83] Sumter carried a letter from Lord Egremont to the Governor of South Carolina in which was expressed concern that the Indians might not have been pleased by the reception accorded them in England: "In case you shall perceive they have been offended or disgusted with anything that may have happened, you will endeavour to remove any ill impression, etc." *Am. and W. Indies*, Vol. 77, Col. Trans. 236, B. P. R. O. (W)

not but think it hard to be left in England for so small, so reasonable a demand, as no other business than the Indian affairs had brought me there, when seven times the sum [128] was granted to another. Lord Egremont indeed had informed me that the King, in consideration of my services in the Cherokee country, had ordered me a Lieutenancy in an old regiment, which I should receive from Sir Jeffery Amherst in North America, and positively assured me, I should never be reduced to half-pay; so that, had I been in my own country, I had reason to be satisfied; but I had no money to carry me there.

The Indians soon re-imbarked in the same vessel that brought them, and left England about the 25th of August;[84] so that I was now entirely at my own expence, without money or friends. I continually solicited Lord Egremont for money sufficient to defray my passage to Virginia, during which my circumstances were continually growing worse. I disclosed my distressed situation to a Gentleman with whom I had contracted an intimacy, who advised me to present a petition to the King, assuring me at the same time, that he would speak to a Nobleman of his acquaint-

[84] Of year 1762. (W)

ance to [129] second it. I went to the Park next morning with a petition that my friend approved, but was very irresolute whether to deliver it or not; my necessities, however, at last determined me.

Some days after I was sent for by Mr. Wood, who, after a short reverie, told me, that Lord Egremont had ordered a hundred pounds, *if that would do.* I knew from whence these orders came; but, as he industriously avoided mentioning the petition, I only answered that it would. I was since informed, that two hundred pounds were ordered me; but even one had been sufficient, had I received it at one payment; but getting it at different times, before I had paid my debts, and received it all, I was again run short.

Upon applying to the treasury for this money, I was asked by Mr. M—t-n [85] if I was not the person that accompanied the Cherokees to England? On answering in the affirmative, he [130] desired me to revise Mr. Cacanthropos's accounts, exclaiming against their extravagance. On looking over them, I did not find them quite so extravagant as I expected, being only overcharged by about 150 pounds; but what I mean by overcharging, is

[85] Martin. (W)

what the Indians never had; for I cannot be so sensible of what was overcharged by other means. *The Indians being remarkable for their skill in mathematics, but unfortunate in not having sufficient workmen among them, he had wisely stocked the whole nation with instruments.* Mr. W—— the optician's bill being to the amount, as near as I can remember, of fifty odd pounds in these costly play-things for the Cherokees; but as neither they nor I had ever seen or heard of such instruments, although I was desired to order all things they might have occasion for, as best judge of what was necessary, I am inclined to think they were turned to a much better purpose. There was another bill from Mr. L—d for stocks and stockings, to the amount of forty odd pounds. Wampum, I suppose, is become so scarce among the In- [131] dians, that they are resolved to adopt the English custom of stocks. It is a little unconscionable to have forty pounds worth in change; but then Mr. Cacanthropos can easily account for that. These people wear a great deal of vermilion, and are naturally not over cleanly, so of consequence their stocks would very soon be dirty; besides, they cannot be expected to wear so long as everlasting wampum. Very true! very

provident, Sir! And I suppose you presume too the bushes would tear a great many stockings; but if I can judge of Indians, they are a great deal wiser than to be fine in stockings among the briars, at the expence of their legs, which good leggons keep unscratched, and a great deal warmer. This does not however, dear Sir, prevent my admiring your provident views; they are absolutely too striking ever to admit of that.

Five yards of superfine dove-coloured cloth, at a guinea a yard, was charged at the woollen-draper's. Ah! dear Sir, you were short sighted here; two yards and three-quarters make a [132] match-coat and leggons, five yards will not make two; a coarser cloth would have suited Indians, and another colour would have pleased them much better; for I am much mistaken if these are not the only Indians that ever wore other than their favourite colours of red and blue; but the laceman's bill will clear up this affair. Let me see! Vellum lace, broad and narrow: Was it for button holes for a Cherokee mantle? Sure Ostenaco never once had the ridiculous fancy of putting useless, and solely ornamental, buttons upon a match-coat; where the duce then were the button-holes placed? But I may, I believe, give a

history of that affair, without being master of an uncommon penetration. A certain *Man-Killer*[86] wanting a holiday suit to appear in, at the installation of some royal and noble knights of the garter — but here some critic, a pretended judge of Indian affairs, will perhaps say, that Indians have no such installations, and that they would never become the laughing-stock of their countrymen, by being swathed up in English cloaths. Well, sharp-eyed critic, good cloaths will never want [133] wearers; it is a pity good things should be lost, and the gentleman that provided them must absolutely be obliged to wear them himself, since the Indians will not. What goodness! Condescend to wear the Indians refusals! *O tempora! O mores!* The washerwoman's bill, with many others, I had already paid; but as it had not paid toll *en passant*, it found its way into the treasury, with an encrease of five or six pounds, being just as much again as the contents of the bill; so summing up the gentleman's profits on what was really received, I imagined it to be about *cent. per cent.*

Mr. Martin desired me to take the accounts home to revise at my leisure, which I soon after returned with alterations, little to the

[86] A play upon Ostenaco's English name. (W)

honour of the original accomptant, however great his skill in figures. But as his character has been sufficiently known in several late affairs, I shall spend no more of my time, or the reader's patience, in quoting numerable instances of the same dye. I shall only mention the injury done to Mr. Quin, whose house was so spoiled [134] by the rabble that came to see the Indians, that he was at a great expence to put it to rights; but instead of Mr. Cacanthropos's allowing out of the immense profits of the show, wherewith to repair the damage, he got him to sign a receipt in full, and then curtailed and perquisited three pounds.

But it is now time to return to my own misfortunes. After paying the debts I had contracted, my finances were, as I have already hinted, so low, that I had not wherewith to defray my passage. I made no doubt of getting credit for a part till my arrival. At the Virginia Coffee-house I found a Captain of my acquaintance, bound to Virginia, into whose hands I deposited ten guineas to secure my passage; but the ship, thro' some unaccountable delays, did not quit her moorings till December, when the Captain told me she would go round to Portsmouth, which place he thought would be more convenient for me

to embark at. I readily acquiesced with this, as I thought my passage would be long enough without any ad- [135] dition. But before I arrived at Portsmouth, my money ran so short, that I was forced to borrow of the landlord, to pay the last stage. I had staid here nine or ten days, in expectation of the ship, when a letter arrived from the Captain, to desire me to return immediately to London, or repair to Deal, as his employers had sent him orders not to touch at Portsmouth, but to proceed immediately to sea. I was thunderstruck. The tavern-keeper had just sent in his bill for payment, the instant I received this letter. I was obliged to deposit cloaths and other effects to the amount of forty pounds, and borrow ten guineas to return.

As soon as I arrived at London, I sent my servant to enquire if the ship had fallen down the river, who shortly after returned with information that she had. I then went to Gravesend, where my money running short again, I had recourse to the landlady. I sent to the office, to know if such a ship had cleared, and was agreeably informed there had not. After expecting the ship four or five days, I sent my [136] servant to London, to procure some money on my watch, with orders to inquire

after the ship at every place between London and Gravesend. On his return the next day he informed me the ship, with several more, were frozen up at Deptford. I now began to be under the greatest uneasiness about my return to Virginia, fate seeming determined to detain me where misfortunes daily increased. I sent to the Captain for the ten guineas I had advanced for my passage, since I found it impossible to go with him, and returned to London, where my first concern was, to enquire at the war-office whether there had lately arrived any returns from Sir Jeffery Amherst? I was informed there had, and, on turning over the books, found myself appointed Lieutenant in the forty-second or Royal Highland regiment of foot, with several months subsistence due to me, which I received soon after from Mr. Drummond, the agent, to whom I made known my circumstances, intreating him to lend me fifty pounds more, without which I found it impossible to get out of England. He [137] obligingly told me, that if I could get any gentleman to accept a bill payable in four months, he would willingly advance that sum. I applied to a gentleman in the city, who was kind enough to accept the bill.

I agreed with a Captain of a ship bound to

Virginia, about the middle of March, and paid him thirty-two guineas for my wife's passage and my own; for I had married, or rather made a young lady a companion of my misfortunes some time before; but her father having refused his consent to our union, had the barbarity to deny us the least assistance, nay, refused me even ten guineas that I found deficient, after paying my debts, and laying in what was necessary. All affairs being seemingly settled, I went to Billingsgate overnight to save expences, by going in a Gravesend boat the next day, but was prevented by a bailiff, who, as soon as I was up, arrested me, at the suit of a person, who, not making any demand upon me, in my confusion I forgot, or rather did not know where to find. [138]

I was carried immediately to Wood-Street Compter, where I wrote to a friend for money to discharge it but being disappointed, I was obliged to pay away the little I had reserved for my expences, so that I had but two shillings left. We now embarked for Gravesend; but before we had got two miles down the river, the boat ran foul of a ship's hawser, by which we were almost overset. We staid a considerable time, to no purpose, to get her clear, but were obliged at last to go ashore

and return to Billingsgate, where we staid all night, and next morning, for want of money to discharge our reckoning, I was forced to sell a gold seal that cost me four guineas, for only eleven shillings.

I then embarked in another boat, and got within four miles of Gravesend without any further interruption; but the tide being spent here, we were obliged to walk to Gravesend on foot, where the ship came down, and anchored next morning. [139]

The Captain informed me, that two gentlemen and a lady, passengers in the ship, would be glad that we should all dine together. This I readily consented to, but begged a couple of guineas that I had been deficient in my old reckoning at the White-Hart. Unwilling to borrow any more from the Captain, I sent my servant with a pair of new crimson velvet breeches that cost me three guineas, who returned with thirteen shillings that he had raised on them. Being now on board, I thought myself secure from all further demands or impediments; but we no sooner arrived in the Downs than my servant left me, and demanded four guineas for the time he had served me; a gentleman that was going

a-shore did me the favour to pay him the money he demanded.

This detail may seem very dry to a reader; but this must effectually convince the public, that had I made money of the Indians, nay, partook of the great sums that were clandestinely made by them, I should not have been [140] so soon reduced to the necessities I underwent.

After some difficulties in getting out, we had a very good passage to Virginia. I staid there but just long enough to settle my affairs, and then set out for New York to wait on Sir Jeffery Amherst for my commission; but to save the expences of going by land, I embarked in an old worn-eaten sloop that belonged to a gentleman at New York, who had been obliged to send a Captain to bring her home, her former one having deserted her in that ruinous condition. She had, however, tolerable pumps and sails, and three good hands besides the Captain.

The first day the wind was very fair, and gave us hopes it would continue so the whole passage, but shifting next day to the north-west quarter, we experienced a perfect hurricane, in which the vessel made water so fast,

that the men were constantly at the pumps to clear her. The sea ran so high, and the vessel [141] was so old and crazy, that I expected each wave would dash her to pieces; the third day we shewed a little sail, though it continued blowing very fresh till evening, when it became pretty fair; yet she still made water at a prodigious rate, and extremely fatigued the men. We saw land next day, but were becalmed till the morning after, when a fresh gale springing up fair, we went at the rate of eight knots an hour till four in the afternoon, when a pilot came on board; the Captain told him that he must run the vessel quite to New York that night, as he had no cable to bring her to an anchor. Had I known this circumstance before, which even the pilot was astonished at, I should not, I believe, have trusted so much to fair weather. We arrived, however, safe in New York.

I waited next morning on Sir Jeffery Amherst, who gave me my commission, with orders immediately to join my regiment, which was then on its way to Pittsburg. I dined with his Excellency next day; after which he [142] told me to wait on Col. Reid, and not be in a hurry to join my regiment. A packet it seems had arrived from England the same day I re-

ceived my commission, which, I suppose, brought a list of the officers to be reduced on half pay, and on waiting on Col. Reid, I found I was of the number. I related Lord Egremont's assurances to the contrary, and produced this his Lordship's Letter to Sir Jeffery Amherst in my favour.

" Sir, *Whitehall, July* 23, 1762.

" Mr. Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, having represented the long and very useful services, particularly in the Cherokee country, of Mr. Timberlake, and having strongly recommended him to some mark of his Majesty's royal favour, and Mr. Timberlake having accompanied some chiefs of the Cherokee nation to London, where he has constantly attended them, and has conducted himself entirely to the King's satisfaction: I am to acquaint you that his Majesty, in consid- [143] eration of the above services of Mr. Timberlake, has been pleased to command me to signify to you his royal pleasure, that you should appoint him to the first Lieutenancy in an old regiment, which shall become vacant in North America, after you receive this letter. I am, &c.

(Signed)

EGREMONT"

The Colonel, on perusing it, was of the same opinion, that certainly his Lordship never intended me to be reduced. I went again to wait on the General; but being denied admission, I immediately inquired for a vessel bound to Virginia, and having at last found one, returned home after spending between twenty and thirty guineas to no purpose; for had it been this Lordship's intention to have had me reduced, I could have been no more in a young regiment, without sending me to New York, in North America, for a commission. [144]

I remained at home till January 1764, when the General Assembly of the colony met for the dispatch of public business, whither I repaired to petition for my expences from the Cherokee country to Williamsburg; which, however, were greatly superior to the accounts I gave in, lest they should judge any of them unreasonable. While my money lasted the Indians wanted for nothing, and I am still considerably indebted on their account.

I gained a majority, and a committee was appointed to look into my accounts,[87] who told me it was to be paid by the council, out of the money for contingent charges, and not

[87] The petition was referred to Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton and Benjamin Harrison, as a committee. *Journal of H. of B.* (1764), p. 208. (W)

by the colony. After waiting a considerable time, at a very great expence, whilst urgent business required my presence elsewhere, I at last got the favour of Mr. Walthoe, Clerk of the Council, to undertake presenting my petition and accounts to the Governor and Council, in my absence, which he did at the next meeting, and soon after sent me the following letter. [145]

"Sir, *Williamsburg, Feb.* 3, 1764.

"It would have afforded me a very sensible pleasure, had I been enabled by the resolution of the Council to have returned a satisfactory answer to your letter of the 26th of last month. In compliance with your request, I the last day of the sessions presented to the board your account, and the opinion of the committee to which it was referred. It was maturely considered and debated, and, extremely contrary to my hopes, disapproved of and rejected;[88] for this reason principally, that you went, as they were persuaded, not by any order, to the Cherokee nation, but in pursuit of your own profit or pleasure, * * * * * * , &c.

(Signed)

N. Walthoe."

[88] *Ib.* 213.

I was quite astonished to find, on the receipt of this letter, that these gentlemen imagined I had made a party of pleasure to a savage country, in the winter season; or that I went in the view of profit, with a stock of twenty pounds worth [146] of goods, most of which I distributed amongst the necessitous prisoners. Had I intended profit, I should certainly have taken the safest way, and a sufficient quantity of goods to have recompenced me for all my fatigues and danger, as I surely did not expect presents in the Cherokee country.

I went to convince the Indians of our sincerity, to know the navigation, and to serve my country. Let others take care how they precipitate themselves to serve so ungrateful a ————. But the reader, by this time, is too well acquainted with the particulars of my journey, to pass judgment with these gentlemen. I have already shewn, that my expences and losses, during that unfortunate jaunt, was upwards of an hundred pounds in ready money, besides what I gave them in presents at their return to their own country, and what I am still indebted for on their account.

It was objected, that I was not ordered. I own it. Do they know Col. Stephen? Did he

ever order any officer on such a service? Is my [147] service of less merit, because I offered myself to do what, tho' necessary, he could not well command? Does the brave volunteer, who desires to mount the breach, merit less than the coward, whose officer compells him to it? No, certainly. We should praise and countenance such forwardness; yet for this same reason have I been refused my expences. Can any one think Col. Stephen would command any officer amongst a savage and unsettled enemy, whose hands were still reeking, as I may say, with the blood of Demeré and the garrison of Fort Loudoun, massacred after they had capitulated, and were marching home according to agreement, who have no laws, and are both judges and executors of their revenge?

I had no written orders. I never doubted they would be called in question, tho' verbal. But here are some extracts of two of Col. Stephen's letters to me, while in the Cherokee country, that may clear up this particular. In one dated Fort Lewis, January 30, 1762, he says, "Give my compliments to your best "friends, [148] and I should have been ex- "tremely glad to have heard that Judd's "Friend (i. e. Ostenaco) had received the

"small present I sent him from the Great "Island. I know no reason which will pre- "vent you and Judd's Friend taking your "own time to come in, and should be glad to "see you, &c."

In another, dated Fort Lewis, February 14, 1762, he says, "The Governor is extremely "pleased with Judd's Friend's favours to you, "and the kindness of all the Cherokees, and I "think it is the better how soon the chiefs "come in with you."

I was to bring some chiefs in then: this has likewise been disputed?

But if I had no written orders, those given to Shorey will prove my verbal ones. The original, among my other papers, is in Mr. Walthoe's hands; but the substance, as near as I can recollect, was as follows: "William "Shorey, you are to wait at Fort Lewis for "the [149] coming of Mr. Timberlake, and "accompany Judd's Friend in quality of in- "terpreter to Williamsburg. I can rely more "upon you than on M'Cormack. Pray put the "country to as little expence as possible."

Through these continual series of ill fortunes, I got so much in debt, that I was obliged to sell my paternal estate and negroes. My friends advised me to return to London, prom-

ising to send me their tobacco, and I to make returns in such goods as would best suit the country, of which I was a tolerable judge. I communicated this project to many of my acquaintances, who gave me great encouragement, and promises of assistance. Mr. Trueheart, a gentleman of Hanover county, so much approved it, that he proposed himself a partner in the undertaking, as a voyage to England might be the means of recovering his health, then much on the decline. I did not hesitate to accept the proposals of a person of fortune, who could advance money to carry it into execution. We accordingly begun our preparations for the voyage, which were al-
[150] ready in some degree of readiness, when walking one day in Mr. Trueheart's fields, I perceived five Indians coming towards the house, in company with one of Mr. Trueheart's sons, whom, upon a nearer view, I recollected to be some of my Cherokee acquaintance. I enquired of Mr. Trueheart where he found them? He told me at Warwick, enquiring for me, and overjoyed when he offered to conduct them to his father's house, where I was, since they had feared being obliged to go a great way to seek me.

After eating and smoaking, according to

custom, the headman told me he had orders to find me out, even should I be as far off as New-York, to accompany them to Williamsburg, being sent with a talk to the Governor, about business of the greatest consequence, and the headman hoped I was too much their friend to refuse them that favour. I replied, that the behaviour of the Cherokees to me, while in their country, obliged me to return what lay in my power while they were in mine; that I [151] would never refuse anything that could be of any advantage to them, but do every thing to serve them. After resting a couple of days, we set out, and in two more arrived at Williamsburg. They waited next morning on the Governor to disclose their business, which the headman afterwards told me, was to demand a passage to England, as encroachments were daily made upon them, notwithstanding the proclamation issued by the King to the contrary; that their hunting grounds, their only support, would be soon entirely ruined by the English; that frequent complaints had been made to the Governors to no purpose, they therefore resolved to seek redress in England. Next day a council met on the occasion, and an answer promised the day following. As I had some particular

business with the Governor, I waited on him the morning the Indians were to have their answer. The chief of what the Governor said concerning them was, that they should have applied to Capt. Stuart, at Charles Town,[89] he being superintendent for Indian affairs; that if the white people encroached, he saw no way to prevent it, [152] but by repelling them by force. I no sooner left the Governor than the Indians came to wait on him. I am unacquainted with what passed during this interval; but the interpreter came just after to my lodgings, and told me their demand was refused; that the headman, who was then down at the Capitol, intended to go to New-York for a passage; on which I rode down there, to take my leave of them. The interpreter then told me, that the headman intreated me to take them to England, as he understood by Mr. Trueheart's people that I was going over. I replied, that however willing to do the Cherokees any favour, it was utterly out of my power to do that, as their passage would be a great expence, and my finances ran so low, I could scarce defray my own. I should then have objected the Governor's orders to the contrary, if any such had

[89] Taken prisoner at the fall of Fort Loudoun. (W)

ever been given; but I am apt to think they came in a private letter to England many months afterwards. I strove to shuffle the refusal on Mr. Trueheart, hinting that he was a person of fortune, and had it in his power; on which they returned back with me, and applied to him. [153]

On my return, I acquainted Mr. Trueheart with the whole affair, who, moved by their intreaties, and a sense of the injustice done to these unfortunate people, who daily see their possessions taken away, yet dare not oppose it, for fear of engaging in a war with so puissant an enemy, contrary to my expectation, agreed to bring them over. One of them died before we set out, but we proceeded with the other four to York Town. We were already embarked, and weighing anchor, when Mr. Trueheart finding the cabin much lumbered, resolved to take his passage in another vessel. We were scarce out of York River, when the wind shifted directly contrary, and in a little time blew so hard, that we were obliged to let go another anchor, the vessel having dragged the first a considerable way. We got to sea in a day or two after, and proceeded on our voyage to Bristol. The day we made land, one of the Indians, brother to Chucatah the headman,

died suddenly. We saw a ship lying off Lundy, which we found, on speaking with, to be the same Mr. Trueheart was on board, and that his [154] son had died on the passage. In a day or two after our arrival, we set out for London, where the day after we arrived I went, as Mr. Trueheart knew nothing of the town, to acquaint Lord H——[90] of the Indians arrival; but his Lordship was not at home. I called again next day, but received the same answer. I went some time after to the office, and acquainted one of the Under-Secretaries with their business, who told me, as well as I can remember, that his Lordship would have nothing to do with them, as they did not come over by authority; at which Mr. Trueheart and the Indians were greatly displeased: that gentleman, then, to lessen the expences as much as possible, took a cheap lodging in Long's-Court, Leicester-Fields, for himself and the Indians, where, after a short illness, he died on the 6th of November.

This was a great loss to me, and likely to be severely felt by the Indians, who must have perished, had I not taken care of them, and promised payment for their board, &c. I ne-[155] ver indeed doubted but when Lord

[90] Lord Halifax. (W)

H—— should be informed with the true situation of affairs, he would readily reimburse me; I sent him a letter for that purpose, but received no answer. The Indians began to be very uneasy at so long a confinement, as my circumstances would not permit their going so often to public diversions as they should have done. They, therefore, begged to come and live with me.

I some time after, the better to accommodate them, took a house, and gave my note for their board, which came to £. 29: 13: 6. I wrote again to Lord H——, and received a verbal answer at the office, from Mr. St—h—e,[91] which was, that his Lordship took very ill my troubling him with those letters: that since I had brought the Indians here, I should take them back, or he would take such measures as I should not like. I replied, something hastily, that I had not brought the Indians, neither would I carry them back: that his Lordship might take what measures [156] he pleased; which I suppose offended a courtier accustomed to more deceitful language. I am a soldier, and above cringing or bearing tamely an injury.

But should these people commence a war,

[91] Stanhope. (W)

and scalp every encroacher, or even others, to revenge the ill treatment they received while coming in a peaceable manner to seek redress before they had recourse to arms, let the public judge who must answer it; I must, however, lay great part of the blame on Mr. Cocoanthropos, who, possessing the ear of Lord H——, made such an unfavourable report of me, that either his Lordship believed, or pretended to believe them impostors, or Indians brought over for a shew. They were known by several gentlemen in London to be of power in their own country; and had not the government been convinced of that, I scarce think they would have sent them home at all. As to his other suspicion, even when I had been so great a loser, without hopes of redress, I might have justified making a shew of them; [157] but they were quite private; few knew there were such people in London. Nay, I did not enough disabuse the public when that impostor, who had taken the name of Chucatah, was detected; so the public, without further examination, imagined Chucatah himself to be the impostor. What contributed greatly to raise this report, was, that three Mohock Indians were, after making the tour of England and Ireland, made a shew of in the Strand,

and immediately confounded by the public with the Cherokees, and I accused of making a shew all over England of Indians who never stirred out of London. Had I showed them, I should not have been under such anxiety to have them sent away; I should have wished their stay, or been able to have sent them back without any inconveniency in raising the necessary money for that purpose: but as it was entirely out of my power, I was advised to put in an advertisement for a public contribution; I first, however, resolved to present a petition to the Board of Trade, in answer to which Lord H——h told me, that it no way [158] concerned them, but Lord H——, to whom I must again apply. On a second application, Lord H——[92] agreed I should be paid for the time they remained in London, and that he would take care to have them sent home. I was allowed two guineas a week for the month they stayed afterwards in town; but from Mr. Trueheart's death, what in cloaths, paint, trinkets, coach-hire, and other expences, including the bill from their late lodgings (for which I was arrested, and put to a considerable expence) and the time they had lived with me, I had expended near seventy pounds, which

[92] Lord Hillsborough. (W)

I must enevitably lose, as Lord H—— has absolutely refused to reimburse me.[93]

About the beginning of March 1765, by the desire of Mr. Montague, I accompanied the Indians on board the Madeira packet, in which they returned to their own country,[94]

[93] The Earl of Hillsborough, touched by the deplorable condition in which he found the Cherokees then in London, ordered them taken out of the keeping of "a tavern-keeper and a Jew who had advertised them to be seen for money at the tavern-keeper's house," and sent tradesmen to fit them out genteelly at his own expense. They were then (February 14) taken before the House of Lords to whom they made complaint of encroachments by the whites on their hunting grounds, and "expressed surprise that, having often heard of learned persons being sent to instruct them in the knowledge of things, none had ever appeared, and entreated that some such men might soon be sent among them to teach them writing, reading and other things." King George III ordered presents to be distributed to them, and the tavern-keeper and the Jew were severely reprimanded. *Annual Register*, VII, 65. Was Timberlake the tavern-keeper? It would seem that he was not, since in likelihood he would have been referred to as an officer of the British Army or as conductor of the Indians to England. (W)

[94] Two missionaries, John Daniel Hammerer and companion, both Germans, accompanied the Indians to Virginia. The party arrived there June 24th and went to Williamsburg, where the missionaries were informed, that the "Indians, one of whom had passed in England for a Chief and Man of Authority in his Nation, were people of little Account; and, at the same time, that the Little Carpenter, a man well affected to the English and of known influence among his People, was coming to Williamsburg on Account of what lately happened in Augusta County." The missionaries awaited the coming of the great chief to see whether he would approve their plan. The Little Carpenter on arriving at the capital promised to take them

leaving me immersed in debts not my own, and plunged into difficulties thro' my zeal to serve both them and my country, from which the selling of twenty pounds a year out of my [159] commission has rather allayed than extricated me. The Indians expressed the highest gratitude and grief for my misfortunes; all the recompence they could offer, was an asylum in their country, which I declined; since their murmurs, and some unguarded expressions they dropt, convinced me they would not fail at their return to spirit up their countrymen, to vindicate their right by force of arms, which would infallibly again have been laid

under his protection; and he conducted them to his home, starting July 18th and journeying by way of Fort Chiswell. From that place Hammerer wrote to the Moravians in Salem, North Carolina, offering co-operation, and sending his plan "to civilize and humanize" the Cherokees. September 27th news reached the Moravian town that the missionaries had been well received by the Indians, "but that the entire Nation had been called out for war against the Shawanoes, Little Carpenter among them." Support had been promised the missionaries by a group of Englishmen, in London; and the governor and council of Virginia bestowed a bounty of forty pounds. The Earl of Hillsborough had given approval of their efforts. Hammerer wrote to the Moravians (Sept. 26, 1765) that he had "made but a small beginning in learning the language and in teaching the Indians." He estimated the total Cherokee population to be 16,000 souls. Fries, *Record of the Moravians in North Carolina*, I, 304, 311, 337. Hammerer, born in Strausburg, Alsace, a Lutheran, had been forced by religious oppression to leave his native land for England. (W)

to my charge, and I perhaps be reputed a traitor to my country. My circumstances, however, are now so much on the decline, that when I can satisfy my creditors, I must retire to the Cherokee, or some other hospitable country, where unobserved I and my wife may breathe upon the little that yet remains.[95]

FINIS.

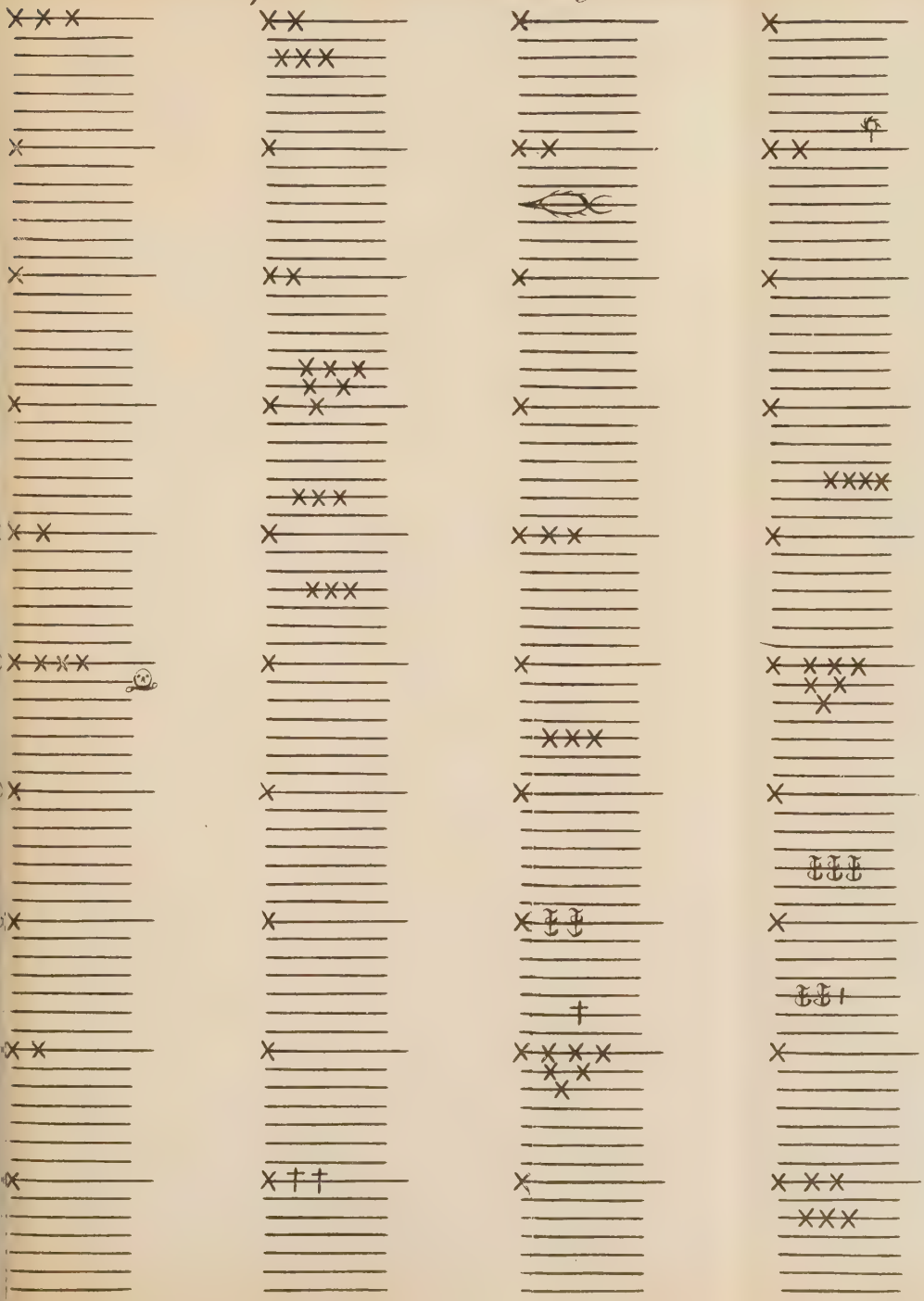
[160]

[95] The pathos of these closing sentences is not abated by this event, occurring seemingly before the book of Memoirs was off the press:

"Died, September 30, 1765, Lieut. Henry Timberlake of the 42d Regiment. He came in with the Cherokee Indians, and attended them." — *Gent. Mag.* (1765), XXXIV, p. 491. (W)

Distressed and depressed by the indifference of those who sat in the seats of the mighty, did our author welcome, as surcease, the last long sleep?

A Curious secret Journal taken by the INDIANS out of the Pocket of a FRENCH OFFICER they had kill'd.



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